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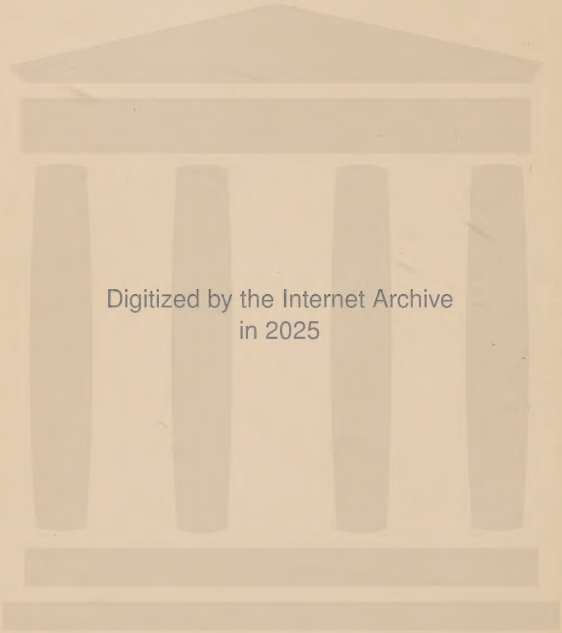
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# SOUTH AMERICAN PROBLEMS

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# SOUTH AMERICAN PROBLEMS

BY

ROBERT E. SPEER

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# PREFACE

We call the South American people a Latin people. In part they are. The foreign blood that is in them is for the most part Latin blood. The upper class is dominantly and sometimes purely of Latin blood. But a great proportion of South American blood is not Latin but Indian. Nevertheless, the charm of the Latin inheritance is over the whole continent and no one can visit it and not come away without grateful memories of a warm-hearted, quick-minded, high-spirited people, citizens of a mighty land and forerunners of a mighty future. And the easy course for one who is asked to present his impressions is to picture the surface life of these nations and pass by the great political and intellectual and moral problems which they are facing. This easy course is not the course which can secure much help for South America and it cannot carry us very far toward a worthy understanding of our own duty.

The only things of real interest are, first, the facts as they are, and second, what the facts can and ought to be. We make no real headway by evasion and concealment, by rosy deception and smooth flatteries. We need first of all to look squarely at the

truth. That is what is attempted here. It is not attempted in any Pharisaical spirit. It is attempted with full acceptance of the principle, "With what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged." No honest American can flinch from the straightest and sternest judgment of his nation and he will not for a moment dodge the reaction upon himself of the contention of this book.

That contention is that where such need exists as exists in South America, there is a call for every agency which can do anything to meet it. The inevitable corollary is that if such need or any need exists in North America which South America or Europe can help us meet, it is their duty to give and it will be our pleasure to have their help.

The difficulty in analyzing the South American situation lies in the need of discriminating between the responsibility of the South American religious system and the burden of the racial inheritance. Some lay the full load upon one, some upon the other. It belongs to both. Any Church would have found the problem difficult. Any race would have been depressed and retarded by the South American ecclesiastical institutions.

Some students deprecate all such judgments as harsh and intolerant. They say that we must judge men and institutions by their conditions and their age, that a just sense of the relativity of moral principles will lead us to overlook facts which in another

age or in other lands would appall us. On the other hand, we are content to take the view of the greatest Roman Catholic historian of the last generation, Lord Acton. It had become "almost a trick of style," say the editors of his famous volume on "The History of Freedom and Other Essays," "to talk of judging men by the standard of their day and to allege the spirit of the age in excuse for the Albigensian Crusade or the burning of Hus. Acton felt that this was to destroy the very bases of moral judgment and to open the way to a boundless scepticism. Anxious as he was to uphold the doctrine of growth in theology, he allowed nothing for it in the realm of morals, at any rate in the Christian era, since the thirteenth century. He demanded a code of moral judgment independent of place and time, and not merely relative to a particular civilization. . . . It is this preaching in season and out of season against the reality of wickedness, and against every interference with the conscience, that is the real inspiration both of Acton's life and of his writings.

"It is related of Frederick Robertson of Brighton, that during one of his periods of intellectual perplexity he found that the only rope to hold fast by was the conviction, 'it must be right to do right.' The whole of Lord Acton's career might be summed up in a counterphrase, 'it must be wrong to do wrong.'"

And as it is always wrong to do wrong, so also it is always right to do right. That is why it is both the right and the duty of true Christians of every Church and of none more than of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States to give sympathy and help to the aspiring people of South America who are wrestling with great problems and who deserve in their wrestling the good-will and practical aid of all friendly men.

No publications on South America are richer in information than those of the Pan-American Union in Washington, formerly known as The International Bureau of the American Republics. Readers wishing the latest statistics and reports from the South American nations should write to the office of the Union.

R. E. S.

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# SOUTH AMERICAN PROBLEMS

# CHAPTER I

## THE GREAT PAST

I. *The early peoples.* The origin and character of the earliest South American civilization are completely hidden from view. The most ancient traces of man on the continent are the "kitchen-midden" found on the coast of Peru, consisting of sea shells and refuse, mixed with fragments of earthen pots and ashes and occasionally the implements used by these primitive people. After these men, who lived on sea-food, there came more advanced tribes of whom we know nothing except what may be inferred from their pottery and textures found in the deepest layers of the soil. This development, such as it was, was confined to the sea coast. It was followed by a wonderful civilization on the high tablelands. Where this civilization came from is a mystery. We know nothing of how long it lasted or what its nature was except as its architectural ruins show that it had Oriental kinships and that it was as interesting as it was powerful. These ruins can be seen well to-day at Tiahuanaco, in Bolivia, just south of Lake Titacaca. Immense stone pillars and gateways, which must have been brought from great distances, prove that a people lived on these high tablelands in centuries which we cannot fix now, akin to the race which left its massive monuments in Central America and Mexico,

and capable of as great achievements as the ancient Egyptians. Of their ideas and language we know nothing; but it is evident that their influence extended from Colombia on the North to Chile on the South, and as far as Tucuman and the Gran Chaco in what is now Argentina.

This ancient pre-Inca civilization disappeared centuries before the discovery of America. Its remains, however, were scattered over the whole Andean plateau and "on this base of an ancient culture, not entirely lost in its effects, although its remembrance had disappeared from the memory of men, a new era of splendor easily revived" under the dominion of the Incas.[1] Prescott's "History of the Conquest of Peru" presents the classic picture of the Inca civilization, but it is hard to separate fact from fable in the authorities on which all such accounts must be based. The Incas had no written language or literature, and while "there exist ancient chronicles written by some of the conquerors and missionaries . . . it is impossible to place absolute confidence in these narratives."[2] So that the real character of the empire of the Incas and the conditions of the South American people at the time of the Spanish conquest are but uncertainly known to us. It seems clear, however, that there was a widespread, socialistic, theocratic civilization organized and administered by the Incas, and reaching from Colombia to central Chile and the Argentine. Wonderful schemes of irrigation and not less wonderful systems of roads were constructed. Armies were organized which brought the whole Andean plateau under the Inca sovereigns, who appear to have possessed from the eleventh century,

[1] Garland, "Peru in 1906," 5. [2] Ibid., 11.

when tradition says they first came upon the scene, a sacred, semi-divine character. The Inca empire had reached its greatest prosperity in the generation before the Spaniards came, and the disruption of that prosperity by civil war was one of the conditions which played into Pizarro's hands when, with a handful of audacious desperadoes like himself, he came for glory and gold.

Apart from the Incas the only other great people in South America, whom we can identify, were the Caras of Ecuador. Tradition says that they came from the South in the seventh century and invaded the seaboard of central Ecuador, and by the thirteenth century the outlines of their empire, which was ruled by a male succession, appear. The Cara kingdom reached its zenith at the end of the fourteenth century, after which it was overthrown and absorbed by the Incas. The Caras were a vigorous stock, however, and survived the Inca conquest and also "outlived the decimating tyranny of the Spaniards, so that ninety-five per cent of the present population [of Ecuador] is composed of their descendants." [1]

The Incas and the Caras are the only South American races which attained any sort of organized and advanced civilization. And their civilization was weak and inarticulate. History has shown us in their fate the frailty of a socialistic order. Under the Incas the State controlled everything—agriculture, commerce, marriage, work and play. The result was that when the central government fell, the whole civilization collapsed.

Those thousands of functionaries who spent their lives in superintending the furniture, the dress, the work, the

[1] Dawson, "South American Republics," Vol. II, 289f.

very cookery, of the families under their charge, and inflicting corporal chastisement on those whom they surprised in a fault, might succeed in forming a correct and regular society, drilled like the bees in a hive, might form a nation of submissive slaves, but could never make a nation of *men;* and this is the deep cause that explains the irremediable collapse of this Peruvian society under the vigorous blows of a handful of unscrupulous Spaniards. It was a skilfully constructed machine, which worked like a chronometer; but when once the mainspring was broken, all was over.[1]

Beyond the empires of the Incas and Caras the native peoples were Indians with a primitive social and political order, not very different probably from the Indians of the present time. The strongest and most virile race among them were the Araucanians of Chile, who showed themselves well nigh unconquerable and whose sturdy, truculent qualities characterize the Chilean people of to-day. In Brazil, covering one-half of the continent, and with an Indian population whose size is absolutely unknown to us, there was only a stagnant and rudimentary civilization, and the Brazilian Indians melted away before the white man's coming even more pitifully than the Indians of the Andean plateau.[2]

The savage Indians of South America, whom the discoverers found, were tame and feeble in comparison with the Indians of North America, and while the civilization of the Incas surpassed that of the Aztecs in Mexico, their resisting power was as nothing in comparison with the energy and fierceness of the Aztec race. The differences between North and South America to-day are not more the transported differences between the Latin and the Germanic peoples

[1] Reville, "The Native Religions of Mexico and Peru," 198f.
[2] Dawson, "South American Republics," Vol. I, 298f.

A Group of Alcaldes of Peru; Village Presidents, Descendants of the Incas

than the continuance of the ancient and primitive dissimilarities. "It is a common misconception on the part of the English public that the racial basis of the South American peoples is Spanish or Portuguese. It is not so—it is Indian; for it is only another misconception to suppose that the native races were wiped out by the Conquistadores."[1] They were decimated by disease and misuse, but at the same time they were made the stock upon which the Latin blood from Europe was grafted. To this day no small part of the diversities of character among the South American republics is due to the differences in the Indian racial stocks—Quichua, Aymara, Araucanian, Guarany; and in the Latin racial grafts—Galician, Basques, Catalonian, Andalusian, Portuguese.

II. *The discoverers and explorers.* Brazil was one of the first parts of South America to be discovered and the men who really found it were not Spaniards but Portuguese, though Pinzon, a Spaniard of Palos, and one of the companions of Columbus, was the first European to see the new continent. Before Pinzon reached the limit of his journey, the mouth of the Amazon, Portugal had despatched Pedro Alvarez Cabral, who in April, 1500, sighted what is now the State of Bahia. The Portuguese were looking for such a treasure as Spain soon afterwards found in Peru and Mexico and upon Cabral's return and report, Amerigo Vespucci, whose name was given to the new world, and the greatest techincal navigator of the age, was sent to explore. He looked for gold and spices and civilized inhabitants and found nothing but the brazil-wood, a dye wood well known and highly valued in Europe, of a bright red color which gave it

[1] *The Times,* London, South America Supplement, August 30, 1910, 11.

its name, "wood the color of fire." This name soon displaced the name of Santa Cruz which had been given to the land, and it became "the country of brazil wood," or, more briefly, Brazil. For thirty years Brazil was left unsettled. There was greater wealth elsewhere, but increasing French trade led Portugal to recognize the need of occupying the land in some formal way, and Martin Affonso de Souza founded the first colony at São Vincento, near the great coffee port of Santos, in January, 1532. The newcomers soon pressed up to the high tablelands only a few miles from the sea, and another settlement was founded near the present city of São Paulo. The people intermarried with the Indians and struck out into the beautiful interior. The Paulistas, as they are called, became a stirring, capable race, the European element increasing with fresh immigration and showing also a capacity of reproduction superior to the Indian. As a result of the success of these colonies, the whole coast of Brazil was divided into twelve feudal fiefs or captaincies, and assigned to courtiers. Six permanent colonies resulted, and ultimately the four centers for the settlement of the country became São Paulo, Pernambuco, Bahia and Rio de Janeiro. The sugar industry was soon established at Pernambuco. The law of Portugal forbade the enslavement of the Indians save as punishment for crime, but Brazil paid no attention to the law, and with the establishment of the sugar trade in Bahia, the import of Africans began between the two continents, which were not far apart. The Brazilian occupation was confined to the coast, and to-day there are still vast unexplored areas in the interior of the land.

Columbus himself began the Spanish exploration of

South America. On his third voyage he sighted the Venezuelan coast on August 1, 1498. The country was then inhabited by numerous Indian tribes who were not of a pacific character and who bitterly fought against the cruelties and enslavements of the Spaniards. Not until 1545 were permanent settlements effected in the interior. On his fourth and last voyage in 1502 Columbus sailed along the Colombian shore, but no attempt to conquer the country was made until 1508, when Ojeda effected a settlement on the coast. In 1536 Quesada undertook the subjugation of the Chibchas, a civilized people similar to the Incas on the high plateau, and established his capitol, the present city of Bogota, near the site of the Chibcha capitol. On his fourth voyage Columbus sailed on to Panama and planted a colony on the Isthmus which the Indians drove away. Not until 1570 was a settlement effected by Diego da Nicuera, governor of the province of Castilla del Oro, which extended from the Gulf of Darien to Cape Gracias a Dios. In 1513 Balboa crossed the Isthmus after a journey of twenty-six days and discovered the Pacific Ocean, in the name of the King of Spain, claiming it and all the land it laved. Darien, founded by Enciso in 1511, and Panama, founded by Davila in 1518, became the great centers of Spanish exploration, and as these were the treasure ports from which the gold of Peru was shipped, they attracted adventurers from all lands.

It was Pizarro who opened this wealth of Peru to the world and established Spanish dominion on the whole Andean plateau. In 1532, after several experimental expeditions with a little company of one hundred and two foot soldiers and seventy-two horses, the daring adventurer seized the Inca emperor at

Cajamarca, overpowered his futile soldiery and took possession of Peru, gathering in as the first booty gold worth more than four millions sterling. Pizarro wasted no time and stood on no scruples. The Inca emperor he slew, the wealth he confiscated, and within half a dozen years the whole of the vast region ruled by the Inca power was overrun and subdued. Pizarro's lieutenant, Benalcazar, conquered the northern region of Ecuador and entered Quito on December 6, 1534. Pizarro's brother, Gonzalo, was appointed Governor of the Province of Quito, and here, as elsewhere, the Spaniards apportioned the land and people among themselves and established feudal estates on which they lived upon the labor of the natives. To the south of Peru, Pizarro's triumph was even easier, and his brother Hernando was given charge of Bolivia. Almagro, another of Pizarro's lieutenants, was sent further south to Chile, but here he encountered a vigorous, hardy people, not debilitated by the weakening socialism of the Incas. Individual ownership of property, rough struggle with nature and men, had made the Chilean tribes strong and virile, and though Almagro was victorious in his battle he soon turned back from such an inhospitable and goldless land. Returning to dispute with Pizarro his possession of the wealth of Peru, Almagro fell at Pizarro's hands and the conquest of Chile was accomplished in 1540–45 by another lieutenant, Pedro Valdivia, who after heroic marches and campaigns subdued the land and set up the landed aristocracy which rules the country to this day. In the thirty years following Valdivia's invasion, settlers from Chile and Bolivia passed over the Andes and established Santiago de Estero, Mendoza and Cordoba in western Argentina.

Pedro de Mendoza founded Buenos Aires in 1536, although it was not till thirty years later that the settlement was securely established. The natural approach from Europe to the valley of the Rio de la Plata and its tributaries was, of course, direct by sea, and Juan Diaz de Solis, coming by water, is credited with having discovered the great river in 1515. The explorer lost his life at the hands of the Uruguayan Indians, and it is an odd fact that Paraguay, far inland, was an earlier settlement than Uruguay on the sea. A settlement was made on the site of Asuncion, the present Paraguayan capital, in 1536, while the first permanent establishments in Uruguay were not set up until the Jesuits came in 1624.

The rapidity with which the Spanish explorers overran the western and southern sections of the continent is extraordinary. In fifty years they had laid the foundations of practically all the Spanish states which are now organized as nine independent republics. One reason for the rapidity of conquest was the fact that the Spaniards had not come as agricultural settlers, but as adventurers for gold. They were looking for quick and easy wealth. They did no more work themselves than was avoidable. They were equal to any heroism but to no industry. The Indian populations were impressed to support and enrich them. The newcomers passed on to their children no inheritance of industrious conflict with common conditions, no disposition to seek wealth in the orderly development of common resources, no agricultural knowledge, but only the dominant ideas of quick action or feudal ease.

III. *The governors.* Upon the discovery of the new world, the Pope made a division of the globe

between Portugal and Spain, and the two countries, by the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494, had fixed the line of division. The lands which they discovered they claimed to possess and undertook at once to govern. The era of independent adventurers and proprietors soon passed, and the two nations marked out provinces and viceroyalties and organized permanent political institutions.

In Brazil the captaincies were reabsorbed by the Portuguese crown, and Thome de Souza was appointed governor-general and arrived in Bahia in April, 1549, with six Jesuits, the first to set foot in the new world. There were struggles with the French and the Dutch, and in the South with the Spaniards, but Portuguese power was steadily solidified. The colonists were heavily taxed for the benefit of Portugal. Brazil learned thus early to bear a crushing burden, or it could not endure to-day the load of internal revenue duties which retards the development of the land and makes the prices even of home manufactures exorbitant. "All goods imported from the mother country paid twelve per cent duty. Salt and iron were taxed one hundred per cent. Every article introduced into the mining districts was surcharged 2d. per lb." [1] A printing press appearing in Rio was ordered to be destroyed by the Court. The country was supported on slaves and forced Indian labor. Nevertheless, the land with its immense resources and small population, less than 3,000,000 people in 1800, the number of Indians unknown, in a country as big as Russia or the United States, greatly prospered,[2] and in 1807 John, the Prince Regent of Portugal, fleeing from Napoleon, transferred the Por-

[1] Oakenfull, "Brazil in 1909," 67. [2] Ibid., 62.

tuguese Court from Lisbon to Rio, and soon raised the colony to coördinate rank with the mother country. This transfer of the Court transformed Brazil. In spite of the Regent's dread of Liberalism, the opening of free ports, the allowance of free manufacture, the tide of immigration, the introduction of the printing press and the advent of the best elements from Portugal produced a steady development of political consciousness. The adoption of a liberal constitution by Spain in 1720 led, by example, to a demand for constitutional government in Brazil which was taken up by Dom Pedro, John's son, and issued in the establishment of an independent monarchy with Dom Pedro as emperor.

Pizarro was the ruler of the Spanish territories south of Panama until his assassination by Almagro's followers in 1541, in Lima which Pizarro had built as his capital city. Upon Pizarro's death the right to nominate a governor reverted to the Spanish Crown, and in 1542 the viceroyalty of Peru was established. For nearly three centuries Peru was governed in the name of the King of Spain by a succession of thirty-eight viceroys, and when there was no viceroy, power was provisionally exercised by a Court of Justice, or, as it was called, the Real Audiencia de Lima, founded in 1544.

Though the viceroys who followed each other in rapid succession were selected from among the greatest grandees of Spain, they were held to an increasingly rigid account, and the smallest concession to commerce or a failure to send home the utmost farthing which could be wrung from the people was severely and peremptorily punished. Their jurisdiction extended over all Spanish South America; the captains-general of New Granada, Venezuela, and Chile, the royal audience of Bolivia, the president of Ecuador, and the

governors of Tucuman, Paraguay, and Buenos Aires being all nominally subject to their orders. But in practice these widely separated divisions of the continent were largely independent. Lima was, however, the political, commercial, and social center of South America. To its port came from Panama the goods destined for Peru, Chile, Bolivia, and even Paraguay and Buenos Aires. Many of the viceroys were lovers of letters, and the university produced scholars and authors not unworthy of comparison with those of the old world. The continual influx of Spaniards of distinguished Castilian ancestry and gentle training made the language of even the common people singularly pure, and the sonorous elegance of the Spanish tongue as spoken during the classical period has been best preserved in the comparative isolation of Peru. The influence of the bishops and priests, the Jesuits and the Franciscans, was hardly inferior to that of the officials. The clergy controlled education; every village had its parish priest who compelled the Indians to go to mass and made them pay heavily for the privilege; the Inquisition was early introduced and performed its dreadful functions without let or hindrance.[1]

The Spaniards founded cities, which the Indians had never done, with the exception of Cuzco in Peru, Quito in Ecuador, and Charcas in Bolivia. And in spite of all hindrances, the country slowly developed, although not without grave retrogressions. The natural efforts of Spain to monopolize all trade provoked smuggling and illegal commerce, and in order to administer the vast territories more efficiently, they were divided, in the eighteenth century, into three viceroyalties, (1) New Granada, embracing Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador, (2) Peru, corresponding to Peru of to-day, and (3) Buenos Aires, embracing Paraguay and what is now the Argentine and the audiencia of Chanos or Bolivia. Chile remained attached to Peru as a semi-independent captaincy-general.

[1] Dawson, "South American Republics," Vol. II, 67ff.

Cuzco, Peru: Ancient Inca Capital

The dominant object of both Portuguese and Spaniards in the government of South America was the rapid exploitation of the available wealth of the land, especially gold and silver. The Europeans did not come to settle, to find a home for freedom, to increase the local wealth and prosperity. They came to deplete that wealth. Their ambition was to return with riches and power to the homelands. They brought with them also only such political ideals and institutions as they knew. The characteristic form of government in Spain had been town or communal. Spain was not a centralized or unified state. Basques, Galicians and Andalusians were about as distinct in character and temper as diverse nationalities. For centuries Spain had been a set of loosely joined provinces and the provincial governments were made up of municipalities. These characteristics found expression in the new world. There was no strong sense of nationality, no notion of state government resting on personal rights and duties. There were only the old ideas of semi-independent feudal divisions, with a ruling privileged class and an underworld of serfs.

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The pure-blooded Spaniard never lost the character of an alien taskmaster, and to this day the South American aristocracy inclines to the ideal of the past—a feudal authority, with Europe as its real home, the center of its fashions and pleasures and ideas, and a dependent and inferior class supporting it. But from the beginning there grew up a new element of the population. No women came with the first settlers, and as a result the Europeans took native wives or concubines, and the people of the mixed blood who constitute the vast bulk of the South American popu-

lation began. At first the conditions of this new race were not wholly favorable. It was not the best blood of Europe that was mixed with the Indian blood. When Cabral discovered Brazil, we are officially told, he "ordered a solemn mass to be performed, took a solemn possession of the new country for the Portuguese crown, and then set out to India after leaving two criminals on shore that they might learn the language of the country and afterwards serve as interpreters."[1] This same official memoir tells of Diego Alvares, the first great Brazilian colonist, that "he lived among the Indians of Bahia in a state of concubinate with several indigenous women, by whom he had a great deal of children." And the same authority states that one of the great tasks of the Jesuits when they came to Brazil was the

> mission of moralizing the colonial society, profoundly corrupted by the bad example offered by the semi-barbarous Portuguese of the first settlement. A great many newly come Portuguese, seduced by the pernicious examples lying before their eyes, lived in concubinate with a great deal of female Indians, after the local fashion, or with them whom they singled out of their slaves. The priests themselves did the same; so that Nobrega wrote to the king, on August 9, 1549, that the laymen took a very bad example by the priests and the Gentiles by the Christians; that the interior of the country was full of Christians' children, both young and adult, male and female, who lived and multiplied after the Gentile way; that hate and disputes were to be found everywhere and religious and judicial affairs were badly managed.
>
> Upon this the Jesuits, aided by the governor, obtained the celebration of marriages; several settlers chose indigenous slaves, whom they freed and married, others married the few European women who had accompanied the expedition; wherefore Nobrega recommended in the above-cited letter orphan girls or even prostitutes to be sent to Bahia, for they

[1] Vianna, "Memoir of the State of Bahia," 597.

would all marry, because the country was vast and uncivilized.[1]

And it cannot be denied that conditions not very dissimilar characterized the Spanish colonies. But while a strain of moral laxity was in this way injected into the Latin American inheritance, other and worthier qualities passed into it also, such qualities as daring, hopefulness, venturesomeness, devotion to a chosen leadership, and racial loyalty.[2]

Something is to be said on each side of the question whether the Latin conquest of South America brought chiefly advantage or disadvantage to the continent and its people. Looking at South America to-day and contemplating the future, assuredly one must conclude that the conquest brought gain and promise. And even from the beginning, the Spanish occupation —and the same thing could be said of the Portuguese,

brought many incontestable benefits to South America. To say nothing of the civilized system of jurisprudence, the letters and the religion which have made the peoples of the continent members of the great western European family, the introduction of new and valuable animals, grains, and fruits raised the level of average well-being among the surviving inhabitants. Horses, asses, cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, chickens, pigeons, wheat, barley, oats, rice, olives, grapes, oranges, sugar-cane, apples, peaches and related fruits, and even the banana and the cocoa palm were introduced by the Spaniards.[3]

But Mr. Dawson points out on the other hand the untold sufferings of the Indians, the widespread destruction of their civilization, of their roads and irri-

[1] Vianna, "Memoir of the State of Bahia," 610.

[2] See "Cambridge Modern History," Vol. X, chap. viii, for a comprehensive and penetrating account of the Spanish Conquest and its effects.

[3] Dawson, "South American Republics," Vol. II, 66.

gating canals and terraces, so that Peru to-day is vastly worse off in these regards than it was under the Incas, the death of thousands from exhaustion in impressed toil, the starvation of whole villages. And when the mines were opened the natives were driven to a deadly work like sheep to shambles. The Inca population, whatever it may have been, was reduced to 8,000,000 in 1575, and in Peru proper the last census taken before independence showed that the number of Indians had become reduced to 608,999 in a territory which at the time of the conquest had a population of five to six millions. "In the neighborhood of Potosi the Indian population fell within a hundred years to a tenth of the original numbers."[1] Dawson calls the colonial period "the devil's dance of Spanish carnage," and Las Casas, the contemporary defender of the Indians, declared:

"The Devil could not have done more mischief than the Spaniards have done in distributing and despoiling the countries, in their rapacity and tyranny; subjecting the natives to cruel tasks, treating them like beasts, and persecuting those especially who apply to the monks for instruction."[2]

Of Brazil Oakenfull says: "The exploitation of the Indians was a vast source of riches. In two years no fewer than 80,000 arrived on the coast, in the neighborhood of the capital (Bahia) to be employed in the sugar mills, etc. Almost the whole of these died in a very brief space of time."[3] The South American Indians, far more numerous and far less savage than the Indians in the United States and Canada, offered only a futile resistance to an exploita-

[1] Dawson, "South American Republics," Vol. II, 58, 59, 64, 242; Garland, "Peru in 1906," 33–35.

[2] Quoted by Grose in "Advance in the Antilles," 4.

[3] "Brazil in 1909," 54.

tion which in the lands settled by the English and French was not attempted because the aims of these people in their settlement were so radically different from the aims of the Spanish and Portuguese, and which would have been impossible if it had been attempted. Miscegenation and exploitation were two differentiating characteristics of the Latin treatment of the Indians. The influence of this fact upon the nature of the problem with which the South American nations are dealing to-day is obvious.

But it was not upon the native people alone that Spanish colonial government pressed heavily. It was an intolerable burden to the colonists themselves. There never has been before or since such unqualified inbreeding of colonial policy. No immigration was permitted but Spanish immigration. Even at the close of the eighteenth century it was with difficulty that Humboldt secured the privilege of journeying through the country for scientific purposes.[1] The vitality and progressiveness of a varied immigration were denied to South America until the nineteenth century, when it began to come in. It is this which has made Chile and Argentina and Brazil, the lands chiefly influenced by it, the most aggressive and active of the South American countries. Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia, untouched by this stream, remain almost as they have been for centuries. But even on the Spanish and Portuguese colonists the yoke pressed unendurably and chafed men to discontent and revolt.

IV. *The liberators.* Spain's attitude toward her colonies was suicidal. They were forbidden to trade with foreign nations or to engage in traffic between the provinces. And innumerable small limitations

[1] See Akers, "A History of South America, 1854–1904."

were laid upon agriculture and commerce. One community was forbidden to plant vines; another to sow flax. One place could not export wines or almonds; another could not build mills. All trade had to pass through Panama. Even the trade of Argentina could not flow directly to and from Spain, but goods from Cadiz for Buenos Aires must go to the Isthmus, be carried across on mules and shipped to Peru, there to be unloaded at Callao and carried by caravan for months over the Andean plateau and across the plains of the Argentine. The manifesto of the Constituent Congress of the United Provinces of South America, issued from Buenos Aires, October 25, 1817, set forth what the liberators held to have been the abuses of Spain:

From the moment when the Spaniards possessed themselves of these countries, they preferred the system of securing their possessions by extermination, destruction and degradation. The plans of this extensive mischief were forthwith carried into effect, and have been continued without any intermission during the space of three hundred years. They began by assassinating the monarchs of Peru and they afterwards did the same with the other chieftains and distinguished men who came in their way. . . . The Spaniards thus placed a barrier to the population of the country. . . . Entire towns have in some places disappeared, either buried in the ruins of mines, or their inhabitants destroyed by the compulsive and poisonous labor of working them. . . . The teaching of science was forbidden us. . . . Commerce has at all times been an exclusive monopoly in the hands of the traders of Spain and the consignees they sent off to America. The public offices were reserved for Spaniards. . . . Among the viceroys who have governed in America, four natives of the country alone are numbered; and 602 captains-general and governors, with the exception of fourteen, all have been Spaniards. . . . Everything was so arranged by Spain that the degradation of the natives should prevail in America. It did not enter into her views that wise men should be

formed, fearful that minds and talents would be created capable of promoting the interests of their country and causing civilization, manners, and those excellent capabilities with which the Colombian children are gifted, to make a rapid progress. She increasingly diminished our population, apprehensive that some day or other it might be in a state to rise against a dominion sustained only by a few hands, to whom the keeping of detached and extensive regions was intrusted. She carried on an exclusive trade because the supposed opulence would make us proud and inclined to free ourselves from outrage. She denied to us the advancement of industry in order that we might be divested of the means of rising out of misery and poverty; and we were excluded from offices of trust in order that Peninsulars only might hold influence in the country and form the necessary habits and inclinations, with a view to leaving us in such a state of dependence as to be unable to think or act, unless according to Spanish forms.

Such was the system firmly and steadily upheld by the viceroys, each one of whom bore the state and arrogance of a vizier. . . . We held neither direct nor indirect influence in our own legislation; this was instituted in Spain. . . . We were aware that no other resource was left to us than patience, and that for him who was not resigned to endure all, even capital punishment was not sufficient, since for cases of this kind torments new and of unheard-of cruelty had been invented, such as made nature shudder.

It cannot be denied that this was a temperate statement, as temperate surely as our Declaration of Independence. The wrongs of the British colonies in North America were mild and beneficent in comparison with the wrongs of the Spanish colonies in the South. Captain Basil Hall wrote in his journal in 1823, " The whole purpose for which the South Americans existed was held to be in collecting together precious metals for the Spaniards, and if the wild horses and cattle could have been trained to perform these offices, the inhabitants might have been dispensed

with altogether, and then the colony system would have been perfect." [1] The conditions which have become familiar to us in Cuba and the Philippines prevailed all over Central and South America. Spain and Portugal were supreme, and while there was doubtless a great deal of contentment and a form of civilization, it was a base expression of wrong social and political principles immensely degraded by the autocracy of the Government and the fanaticism and domination of the Church.

Yet it was not alone the wrongs from which they suffered which aroused the Latin American states to revolution. The Spanish colonies felt the influence of the movement towards liberty then altering the history of Europe and North America. Spain kept them as ignorant as possible of what was going on, but both they and Spain felt that some change in their relations would inevitably follow. Spain recognized the independence of the United States in 1783. How could she continue to deny all autonomy to her own colonies? The Count of Aranda suggested to Charles III, "the reorganization of all his colonial possessions in America, by the establishment of three kingdoms, namely, Mexico, Peru and the Spanish Main, including what is now Venezuela and Colombia. Over these, members of the Spanish royal family were to be placed as kings; and the Spanish monarch was to be supreme with the title of emperor. The scheme was rejected as too chimerical." [2] But by recognizing the right or at least the fact of American independence in the North, Spain was in a weakened position to deny it in the South.

[1] See Bigelow, "The Children of the Nations," 6ff.
[2] Brown, "Latin America," 127.

The people of South America were making comparisons for themselves. The manifesto already quoted proceeds with the statement:

> Neither so great nor so repeated were the hardships which roused the provinces of Holland when they took up arms to free themselves from the yoke of Spain; nor those of Portugal to effect the same purpose. Less were the hardships which placed the Swiss under the direction of William Tell and in open opposition to the German Emperor; less, those which determined the United States of North America to resist the imposts forced upon them by a British king; less, in short, the powerful motives which have urged other countries, not separated by nature from the parent state to cast off an iron yoke and consult their own felicity.

Even more than by the revolution of the United States, the South American and Mexican patriots were inspired by the spirit and character of the French Revolution. Bolivar, after finishing his education in Spain, went to Paris and saw there the closing scenes of the Revolution. Later, he returned to Paris and lived there for five years. Subsequently, he returned to Venezuela by way of the United States. But France probably influenced him more than America. Racially, the Latin American people are more in sympathy with France, while temperamentally their whole movement resembles the French Revolution far more than ours. They liked the emotions and principles of it better, and we can understand the struggle for the emancipation of South America more readily, if we imagine it as a movement of Frenchmen rather than of Americans.

And curiously and with no intention of his own, the man who made independence possible for the Spanish colonies was Napoleon. "Probably no man exerted a greater influence in promoting the develop-

ment of liberty and of free institutions on this continent" than he.[1] In 1808, he deposed Ferdinand VII, King of Spain, and put his brother Joseph on the throne. Spain was soon torn by civil war and the stringency of her colonial government was relaxed. The government at home was disorganized, and the colonies set up their own governments, some regarding them as tentative only, to be suspended when Ferdinand should be reinstated; others rejoicing at the opportunity which they afforded of securing entire independence. In 1810, the first declaration of independence was made. The first step was taken in Venezuela. There were three parties there: the imperialists, or Bonapartists, the adherents of Ferdinand, and the liberators, who believed in independence. On April 18, 1810, there arrived at Caracas the commissioners who announced the formation of a regency at Cadiz and called upon the Venezuelans to be loyal. Bolivar expressed the feeling of the liberators. "This power which fluctuates in such a manner on the Peninsula," he said, "and does not secure itself, invites us to establish the junta of Caracas and be governed by ourselves." On the following day, the junta was proclaimed as an independent power. "It voted not to recognize the regency of Cadiz and announced that Venezuela, in virtue of its natural and political right, would proceed to the formation of a government of its own."[2] As Minister Romero said, "A condition of things had been reached which made independence a necessity that could not be suppressed, postponed or evaded." In this same year, steps towards independence were taken on May 25th in Buenos Aires

[1] Ellinwood, "Questions and Phases of Foreign Missions," 197.
[2] Butterworth, "South America," 42.

for the Argentine; on July 20th, in Bogota for Colombia; on September 16th, in Mexico; on September 18th, in Santiago for Chile, and "during the same month of September in most of the other colonies." [1]

In some cases, these declarations were put forth as expressive of no disloyalty to Ferdinand, but were on the other hand distinctly friendly to him and designed only to secure from him on his return to power some recognition of rights denied before. And although on Ferdinand's restoration these hopes were disappointed, the declaration of the council at Caracas on April 19, 1810, the first of all the actual steps towards independence, was to the effect that the government then to be formed would exercise authority in the name of Ferdinand VII, pending his restoration to the throne. Nothing would satisfy Spain, however, but the re-establishment of her complete and autocratic authority. The mediation of Great Britain in behalf of the colonies was refused. The patriots in 1817 said:

> The Spanish ministers, blinded by their sanguinary caprice, spurned the mediation and issued rigorous orders to all their generals to push the war and to inflict heavier punishments. On every side, scaffolds were raised and recourse was had to every invention for spreading consternation and dismay. . . . In the town of Valle-Grande, they enjoyed the brutal pleasure of cutting off the ears of the inhabitants and sent off baskets filled with these presents to their headquarters. . . . They have not only been cruel and implacable in murdering, but they have also divested themselves of all morality and public decency, by whipping old religious persons in the open squares and also women bound to a cannon, causing them previously to be stripped and exposed to shame and derision. . . . They have declared that the laws of war observed among civilized nations ought not to be practiced

[1] Romero, "Mexico and the United States," 295.

among us; and their General Pezuela, after the battle of Ayouma, in order to avoid any compromise or understanding, had the arrogance to answer General Belgrano that with insurgents it was impossible to enter into treaties. Such has been the conduct of Spaniards towards us since the restoration of Ferdinand de Bourbon to the throne of his ancestors. We then believed that the termination of so many sufferings and disasters had arrived. We had supposed that a king, schooled by the lessons of adversity, would not be indifferent to the desolation of his people, and we sent out a commissioner to him in order to acquaint him with our situation. We could not for a moment conceive that he would fail to meet our wishes as a benign prince, nor could we doubt that our requests would interest him in a manner corresponding to that gratitude and goodness which the courtiers of Spain had extolled to the skies. But a new and unknown species of ingratitude was reserved for America, surpassing all the examples found in the histories of the greatest tyrants.

The same justification of their course was advanced by the Venezuelan patriots in their declaration of complete independence on July 5, 1811. This was the first formal and unqualified assertion of independence. It was the first act in the great movement which delivered northern South America from the sovereignty of Spain. The great hero of the movement in the north was Simon Bolivar, who was born in Caracas in 1783. Bolivar was preceded, however, by Francisco Miranda, who was born in 1756 and who dreamed the dream of independence and strove to realize it before its time. He passed on his vision and his spirit to Bolivar, but died in prison, where Bolivar and some fellow-patriots had placed him. It was under Bolivar's leadership that the independence of Venezuela was declared at Caracas. After many vicissitudes the victory of Boyaca, on August 7, 1819, enabled him to proclaim, on December 17, 1819, the

Republic of Colombia, consisting of Venezuela and New Granada, the latter of which in 1858 became the United States of Colombia, a separate republic, reverting thus to the independence secured during the disturbed days before Venezuela had actually obtained her liberty. On June 24, 1821, he gained the decisive victory of Carabobo which ended the Spanish power in the new combined republic, and the same year he was elected its president.

In the south, meanwhile, a similar movement was going on. Argentine took advantage of the unsettled conditions in Spain to set up its own provisional government, and on January 31, 1813, a congress assembled in Buenos Aires and elected Posadas dictator. On July 9, 1816, independence was formally declared. Of the great characters who won freedom for the south, San Martin stands out as the foremost. Having taken a prominent part in the emancipation of Buenos Aires, he turned his attention westward and planned for the deliverance of Chile and Peru. From his position as Governor of the Province of Cuzco he marched over the Andes into Chile and at Maipo, on April 5, 1818, fought the battle against the royalists which freed Chile. His next step was a naval expedition. Commanded by Lord Cochrane, a British Admiral, his fleet sailed from Valparaiso and San Martin entered Lima. On July 28, 1821, Peru declared her independence.

These two delivering movements met at Guayaquil in 1822, when Bolivar and San Martin came together and conferred over their great plan to deliver the whole of South America. San Martin believed that his work was now done; that Bolivar could accomplish the liberation of the western regions better alone,

so he quietly withdrew. "The presence of a fortunate general in the country which he has conquered is detrimental to the state," he said. "I have achieved the independence of Peru. I cease to be a public man." Whereupon he crossed the Andes, took his daughter with him to Europe, and lived there in poverty and neglect.

Midway between the movement of independence in the north and the movement in the south, was the work of deliverance done by Sucre in Ecuador and Peru. At the battle of Pichincha, on May 24, 1822, he destroyed the Spanish power in Ecuador, the new republic joining at first the republic of Colombia. On December 9, 1824, with Bolivar, he fought the great battle of Ayacucho against the Spanish viceroy La Serna, and finally destroyed the authority of Spain. The provinces of Upper Peru, which were thus freed and which had theoretically been part of the Argentine Republic as successor to the vice-royalty of Buenos Aires, were now organized into an independent republic under the name of Bolivia.

The course of the struggle in the smaller states of South America it is not necessary to follow. It is necessary to speak only of Brazil.[1]

There the course of affairs was peculiar and distinct. Under Dom Pedro I it was already an independent country, freed from European domination. What it required was emancipation not from Portugal but from monarchical to republican government, and this transformation came peacefully. The rule of Pedro I was so unsatisfactory that he abdicated

[1] For a thorough yet succinct account of the establishment of independence in Spanish America, see "Cambridge Modern History," Vol. X, chap. ix.

in 1831 in favor of his five-year-old son, who issued from a regency to assume power in 1840. Pedro II was a remarkable man and his government of Brazil helped to prepare it for freedom. He was himself a royalist, but he freed the Brazilian slaves and in doing so brought on his own downfall. The economic change which resulted alienated the wealthy class. Plantations dependent upon slave labor became profitless. Comtism became a dominant philosophical and political influence. The army was in the hands of the anti-monarchists. The Emperor bowed to the inevitable and withdrew to Europe and a new life stirred through the nation now taking its place as the last among the South American republics among which in territory and population it is first.[1]

V. *The republics.* The South American republics, as we have seen, have a radically different heredity from the United States. In North America the republic grew out of local self-government and rested on the English or Teutonic political idea of strong nationality, which not only did not sacrifice self-government but depended upon it, and on the principle of representation and responsibility. In South America the republics rested on the Roman political idea of "a conquering people holding sway over a number of vanquished peoples."[2] The Roman idea was by no means necessarily tyrannical. It opened citizenship to all and it made all theoretically equal before the law, but it lacked the representative principle. The South American republics have the character which was inevitable from their political ancestry.

[1] "Cambridge Modern History," Vol. X, chap. x.
[2] Fiske, "The Beginnings of New England," 24.

Spanish-Americans have known only two forms of government, which have everywhere and always coexisted, though they seem inconsistent. First, there is an executive—the limits of his power ill-defined, and often imposing his will by force, in essence arbitrary and personal, and feared rather than respected by the people; secondly, the Cabildos and the modern deliberative bodies. Never really elective, these have nevertheless performed many of the functions of bodies truly representative; they have checked the arbitrary executives and furnished a basis for government by discussion. For centuries the communities looked to them for the conduct of ordinary local governmental affairs, and they survived all the storms of colonial and revolutionary times. On the other hand, their importance in the Spanish governmental scheme has been a most potent influence in preventing the growth of local representative government by elective assemblies and officials. Consequently, in national matters, freely elected and truly representative assembles have been hard to obtain. Legislation has been controlled by the functionaries, and there has been no general and continuous participation in governmental affairs by the body of the people. Government by discussion and by common-sense of the majority is difficult to establish among a people accustomed for centuries to seeing matters in the hands of officials whom they had no practical means of holding to responsibility. The people have rarely felt that the executive was their own officer.[1]

The South American republics deserve great credit for their increasing political vitality and their growth in democratic spirit, in view of their political inheritance. They sprang out of and carried forward with them the spirit and ideals of Spanish dominion, and as the "Cambridge Modern History" says,

There is something medieval in the Spanish dominion down to its close; the Middle Ages supply the best parallel to its apparent inconsistencies—high ideals and shameful vices, tender humanity and shocking ferocity, thoughtful provision and

[1] Dawson, "South American Republics," Vol. I, 55f.

actual neglect, cult of formulas and indifference to facts, exaltation of ceremonial faith and shameless profligacy, a theory of all-pervading sovereignty and acquiescence in constant breaches of that sovereignty.[1]

We have understood too little the intricate character of the difficulties which the South American republics have had to overcome, and have given them too little of the help and sympathy which they have deserved. They have still great problems to deal with, entailed by their inheritance, and in no lands of the world, in consequence, is sound popular education more vitally necessary to the well-being and progress of the state.

Only three of the ten South American republics are federal unions composed of sovereign states like the United States or the states of Mexico. These three are the Argentine Republic, the United States of Brazil, and the United States of Venezuela. All the other republics have a unitary or centralized form of government, the provincial or district heads being appointed by the President. In each republic is the usual division into executive, legislative and judicial branches. In some states, as Chile, Venezuela and Uruguay, the judges of the Supreme Court are elected by the national congress. In others, as the Argentine and Colombia, they are appointed by the President of the republic. In some, as Uruguay, the President is elected by Congress. In most of the South American states he is elected by electors chosen by popular vote. But what has been said of the political heredity of the South American institutions will suffice to explain the fact that the popular vote is very small. In the election of 1908 only 18,000 votes were cast in Buenos Aires, a city of over a million inhabitants.

[1] Vol. X, 279.

The frequency of South American revolutions has made some of the South American republics ridiculous in the eyes of the world. But something is to be said in their defense. First is the character of their political inheritance; and secondly, the lack of really representative government, the limitations of the franchise, the ignorance of the great masses of the people, and the farcical character of elections which are always controlled by the party in power, have made revolutions the only possible way of securing a change of administration. A revolution is indeed a sort of popular election. And there is something noble in the loyalty and sacrifice with which multitudes of poor people who knew little or nothing of any principles or issues which were at stake, have fought for their leaders and followed them to death. But it was Latin feudalism rather than American democracy.

The South American nations are intensely devoted to liberty. Republican institutions with them face many grave problems, but they do not face the problem of national scepticism as to republican principles. These states are republics by conviction and forever, and it is essential, therefore, that their people should become such citizens as can alone sustain and administer free institutions. "Our needs," say the wisest and most patriotic men in South America, "are character and intelligence. The discoverers and colonists bequeathed us boldness and cleverness, but their blood runs purely in the veins of but a few of our people, and even with the few it is not always remembered that courage must be upright and that cleverness must be thorough and true. We need what every nation needs, integrity and real education."

# CHAPTER II

## THE SOUTH AMERICAN REPUBLICS OF TO-DAY

South America, both in its physical geography and in its people, presents vivid contrasts with our own continent. The two continents do not vary greatly in size. The area of North America is 19,810,200 square kilometers and of South America, 17,813,950, or according to the figures of the International Bureau of American Republics, now the Pan American Union, 8,559,000 and 7,598,000 square miles respectively. But the two continents are of strikingly different configuration and in the matter of river systems South America is more richly equipped than any other continent. This water system renders the development of interior South America far simpler than the development of interior Africa. It can be made to do for these republics what China's water system, much of it artificial, has done for China.

The population of South America is less than one-half that of North America. We have 110,000,000 people of whom 90,000,000 are white, and South America has between 40,000,000 and 50,000,000 of whom less than 15,000,000 are pure white blood. South America is more thinly settled, with its population scattered over its immense area, than any other part of the world. Its population has probably grown less rapidly in the last century than that of any other portion of the world, unless it is Africa. The popula-

tion per square kilometer (in 1906) of some of the different countries will show the opportunity for development in South America.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Belgium | 231 | United States | 8.3 |
| Holland | 158 | Guatemala | 14 |
| England | 133 | Honduras | 5 |
| Italy | 113 | Mexico | 6.8 |
| France | 73 | Costa Rica | 5.7 |
| Austria | 70 | Brazil | 2 |
| Spain | 37 | Argentine | 1.8 |
| Eastern Russia | 21 | Colombia | 3 |
| Japan | 113 | Venezuela | 2.5 |
| China | 37 | Chile | 4.4 |
| India | 81.6 | Paraguay | 2.6 |
| Siam | 10 | Bolivia | 2 |
| Korea | 56 | Peru | 2 |
| Persia | 5.4 | | |

We can best appreciate the greatness of these South American nations by comparing them with our own states. Brazil exceeds the whole United States in size by an area of 200,000 square miles, or four times the state of New York.

In Argentina, located in the South Temperate Zone, with a climate like that of the United States, could be placed all that part of our country east of the Mississippi River plus the first tier of states west of it.

Bolivia is comfortably half a dozen times larger than the combined areas of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware.

Into Chile could be put four Nebraskas.

Peru would obscure, if placed over them on the map, California, Oregon, Washington, Nevada, Arizona, Utah and Idaho.

Paraguay is only four times bigger than the state of Indiana, while little Uruguay could wrap within its limits North Dakota.

Texas could be lost twice in Venezuela and still leave room for Kentucky and Tennessee.

On the globe, Ecuador does not spread like a giant, but it could hold all New England, New York and New Jersey.

Finally, there is Colombia, a land of splendid promise and mighty resources, whose nearest port is only 950 miles from the nearest port of the United States. This Republic has an area as great as that of Germany, France, Holland and Belgium combined.[1]

It is customary to speak with unlimited wonder of the wealth and resources of South America. It is not to be doubted that the continent has immense riches of agricultural product and mineral treasure waiting to be developed, but the general impression produced upon the observant visitor is disappointing. There are deserts more barren than the worst of ours. The tropical forests and vegetation are coarse and oppressive. The rain and warmth produce luxuriant growths, but tender things, green grass and little flowers die in the shadows or are scorched in the heat. The table lands of the Andes above the timber line and with too high an altitude for corn or wheat, the rainless stretches of arid soil, the sandy wastes even in the tropics, the swamps and miasmic forests, must all be measured when we talk of the agricultural possibilities of South America. The great broken ranges of the Andes make many of the mineral resources almost inaccessible, and the engineering problems involved in railways are far more difficult than with us. But on the other hand, it is certain that the true wealth of South America is hardly reached as yet, that an efficient population would develop in these countries an almost unlimited prosperity. And there are parts of South America, notably in Brazil and Colombia, and in the wonderful

[1] Barrett, "Latin America, The Land of Opportunity," 28.

Argentina, which cannot be surpassed anywhere in the world.

1. *Argentina.* It is impossible to group all the South American republics in common commercial generalizations. Argentina is in a class by itself. At the present time it is far and away the most progressive and energetic of the South American countries. It is the least South American of them all. Of its 7,000,000 people a large proportion are foreigners or children of foreigners. In 1895 the total number of foreigners was 886,395 of whom 492,636 were Italians. In 1906, 252,536 immigrants came, of whom 127,578 were Italians. Buenos Aires with a population of over 1,300,000 has a large element of Italians and foreign born of other nations. It is very much like a European city. The shops are like foreign shops and the air of the place is modern and western. English financial interests have been heavily concerned and the railroads of the country, not a little of the agricultural industry, and a considerable part of the funds for municipal improvements have been provided by British capital. The temperate climate is favorable to European immigration and enterprise.

Already the foreign exports of the Argentine far exceed the exports of all the rest of South America combined, excepting Brazil. As a commercial country it rivals Canada and outranks Japan, China, Mexico, Australia and Spain. The country is still thinly settled, 6 to the square mile as compared with 30 in the United States and 558 in England, and its agricultural resources are only on the threshold of development. There are 18,166 miles of railroad as compared with 13,270 in Brazil, with new lines building in both countries.

Docks and Grain Elevators at Buenos Aires, Argentina

The producing capacity of the country is steadily increasing, and in cereal production its status is evidenced by the fact that as a corn exporter the Argentine Republic took first rank in 1908, occupying the place formerly held by the United States. In the production of this foodstuff the country ranks third, and as a wheat grower fifth. It is first as an exporter of frozen meat and second as a shipper of wool.

In the number of its cattle the Republic holds third place among the nations, being ranked with India and the United States. Russia and the United States exceed it in number of horses, and Australia alone has a greater number of sheep.

The agricultural area under cultivation in 1908, as compared with 1895, has increased 216 per cent. A large portion of this increase is due to the increase in the cultivation of wheat, the area of which shows an increase of 195 per cent as compared with 1895.

A recent agricultural and pastoral census of the Republic showed live stock in the following quantities: cattle, 29,116,625; horses, 7,531,376; mules, 465,037; donkeys, 285,088; sheep, 67,211,754; goats, 3,245,086; and hogs, 1,403,591; representing a total valuation of $645,000,000.

The Republic now occupies first place among the countries of the world as a purveyor of frozen meat, though the industry is as yet practically in its infancy, and with the cheapest and most excellent raw material in the world at hand in inexhaustible quantities, it will undoubtedly reach proportions greatly in excess of the present. This field has attracted the attention of United States capitalists, and the packing interests are investing large sums in Argentine establishments.[1]

Buenos Aires is the largest city in South America, the fourth largest in the Western Hemisphere and one of the largest in the world. It has all the problems of a modern American city, the inevitable problems of industrial unrest, and also immorality, irreligion, drunkenness, ignorance, with difficulties of its own, while it is without the resources of an Amer-

[1] "The Argentine Republic, 1909," 11, 15, 17, 18.

ican city, the national traditions and spirit and the help of a free Church and adequate schools. Even the Roman Catholic Church is doing little to cope with the problems. In this city, the size of Philadelphia, there are only forty Roman Catholic churches and ten Protestant churches for both Spanish and English services. In Philadelphia I believe there are ninety Roman Catholic churches and 690 Protestant churches.

Argentina is growing more rapidly than any other South American country. Its population has advanced from 1,830,214 in 1869 to 3,851,542 in 1895 to 5,484,647 in 1905. The city of Buenos Aires, which in 1833, when Darwin was there with the "Beagle," numbered 60,000, had in 1869, 187,346 population, in 1895, 663,854, and has now over a million and a quarter and is growing at the rate of 100,000 a year. The people who are crowding in from Europe are not bringing their religion with them. Even if it were an adequate religion, demonstrated by its fruits in Italy and Spain to be good for national progress and individual morality, the immigrants do not retain it on the soil of the new land. They discover here, as a priest told us, that the priests can no longer wield over them the power of the State, and they at once hurl off the old respect for the Church and reject its priesthood whom they had respected only because they feared. A great new nation is taking form here. What form is it to take? Are the deepest of all principles, the elements that redeem, to be omitted from the forces at work upon it? Here is a population a little greater than that of the state of Illinois scattered over an area of 1,135,840 square miles, one-third the area of the whole United States. One-fifth of it

is concentrated in one city larger than Boston, Baltimore and Denver combined.

2. *Brazil.* Larger in size and population than Argentina, Brazil comes after it in energy and trade. It is the largest and most populous of all the South American republics, and it is separated, also, from the rest by distinct racial and linguistic peculiarities.

Its area is officially given as 3,218,130 square miles. This is one-half of South America and one-fifth of the combined area of North and South America. Brazil is larger than the whole of Europe or than Australia plus Germany. It is the fourth largest country in the world. The country has forty-two seaports, the greatest river system in the world, almost every variety of natural product except some of the temperate fruits and grains, and it has resources of its own to take the place of these. It is so immense that it does not know its own area or condition. Less is known of its interior than is known of Africa.

Brazil represents not only half the area and resources, but also between one-half and one-third of the present population of South America. The census of 1890 gave the population as 14,333,915. The best recent books give it as 15,000,000, which is doubtless an underestimate. There are, as yet, no reliable census statistics. The greatest diversity of opinion prevails in Brazil as to the growth and movement of population. The country as a whole can support, however, ten or twenty times the present number of inhabitants.

The character of Brazil distinguishes it also from the rest of South America. It remained a monarchy eighty years longer than the other countries. It retained slavery twenty years longer than the United

States. Its language and predominant racial traits are Portuguese, while all the rest of South America is Spanish. It has the largest negro element of any of the South American states. Of the 15,000,000 population in 1890, approximately one-third were white, one-fourth negro, one-half of mixed blood, Indian, negro and white, and the remainder Indians. Some say the uncivilized Indians do not exceed 100,000. Hale, in "The South Americans," gives the number of Indians as 400,000 and Martin, in "Through Five Republics," gives their number as 1,300,000. The whites are Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, German and English and their descendants of mixed blood. The immigration has been largely to the southern states of São Paulo, Parana, Santa Catharina and Rio Grande do Sul.

Immigration into Brazil attained its maximum in 1891, when it reached a total of 216,760. In 1895 it was 167,618. Since then it has been steadily falling.

Italy furnishes the greatest number of immigrants and Portugal comes next. From 1885 to 1905 inclusive the Italian immigrants more than doubled the Portuguese, that is to say, 1,068,032 Italians, against 356,979 Portuguese.

German immigration is, as shown by the tables, of much less importance; from 1893 it only amounted to a few hundreds yearly; in fact, the number of German immigrants entered between 1885 and 1903 did not exceed 79,796, or only about one-third of the Spanish immigration.

The total immigration during the period of 1855–1905 was 2,374,005.[1]

The German element numbers less than half a million. Immigration has affected the Argentine even more than Brazil, and there is a negro strain on the

[1] The *Times*, London, South American Supplement, August 30, 1910, 3.

coast of Venezuela, but with these exceptions Brazil is distinguished from the rest of South America by its immigration and its negro blood. Its people have lacked the fanaticism characterizing the peoples on the west coast, and until the advent of the host of foreign priests who have poured in since the Spanish withdrawal from the Philippines and the disestablishment of the Church in France, the Protestant missionaries found an open and much neglected field.

The total imports of Brazil in 1910 were $235,574,837, and the total exports $310,006,438. The imports showed an increase over 1909 of nearly $56,000,000, and over 1908 of $62,000,000. The impression that German trade is displacing British trade is not confirmed in the experience of Brazil this past year, during which British imports increased from $48,241,287 to $67,061,065, and German imports from $28,007,001 to $37,455,530. Brazilian exports to Great Britain during the same year increased from $49,832,180 to $73,440,577, while Brazilian exports to Germany decreased from $48,130,450 to $36,285,755. The total exports of Brazil in 1910 were only about $2,000,000 more than in 1909, but nearly $95,000,000 more than in 1908. The United States is Brazil's best customer, taking in 1910 $112,184,068 of Brazil's exports, while we ranked third with $30,253,918 of imports. It is chiefly coffee and rubber that we buy. In 1910 we took $58,808,467 worth of coffee, or more than one-half of Brazil's total coffee export, while we took $47,409,030 worth of rubber, Great Britain taking $57,926,160. Rubber and coffee together made up $251,613,589 of Brazil's total exports. Next came the maté or Paraguay tea to the value of $9,575,550. and then hides $8,626,966, and tobacco $8,048,925.

Brazil produces at least four-fifths of the world's supply of coffee and about one-half the rubber.

As regards industrial establishments, a fair estimate places them at 3,400 at the close of 1910. The total number of employees is given as 160,000, the capitalization at about $220,000,000, with a production of $240,000,000. Fully sixty per cent of this capital is invested in factories located in the Federal District, and in the States of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Rio Grande do Sul. Pernambuco has extensive sugar industries and cotton mills, and smaller manufacturing plants are scattered in various parts of the Republic.[1]

But all such enterprises are still in their infancy in Brazil. The total capitalization of all its industrial establishments is only equal to the amount of the common stock of the Union Pacific Railroad or to one-fourth of the capitalization of the United States Steel Corporation. The Brazilian people are singularly friendly and amiable and they have done more by themselves to develop their country than any other South American people.[2]

3. *Chile.* The republic ranking third in enterprise and progressiveness, perhaps in proportion to its size surpassing most parts of Brazil in these regards, is Chile.

On passing from Brazil to Chile one is impressed at once with the contrast which the two countries and peoples present. One lies almost wholly within the tropics; the other almost wholly in the temperate zone. One is as wide as it is long, and the other is a thin strip one hundred miles or so broad, stretched

[1] "Bulletin, Pan American Union," July, 1911, 73.

[2] Dr. Gammon, who has long lived among the Brazilians and who loves them and is loved by them, has drawn a sympathetic but discriminating picture of the Brazilian character in "The Evangelical Invasion of Brazil," 41–48.

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along the coast for 2,500 miles. The area of Brazil in round numbers is 3,220,000 square miles, and of Chile 300,000, about one-eleventh the size of Brazil. The wealth of Brazil is agricultural, while of the 750,000 square kilometers of Chile, only 20,000 are cultivated lands, 100,000 are semi-arid, 200,000 forest, and 430,000 sterile. Yet Chile's wealth is in these sterile lands, embracing fifty-seven per cent of the territory, for there are the great nitrate beds, and the varied mineral veins. In Brazil everything is spread out, expansive; in Chile, drawn in and compacted. Brazil is so big that it does not know itself. Distant provinces are like small independent governments. Chile is highly centralized, with all its activities focussed in the capital and ordered by a small class of men. The Brazilian is placid and tranquil; the Chilean energetic and enduring. "By reason or by force," is the motto stamped on the Chilean coins. "Progress and order" are the words on the flag of Brazil. In Brazil the population is a composite mixture with a large immigration and a strong African element. In Chile it is largely homogeneous, with a negligible immigration and no negro element whatever. The fundamental problems are closely akin in the two countries, but the contrasts serve to give an edge to the facts.

Chile is made up climatically of at least three countries. (1) There is the southern section, reaching roughly from Cape Horn to Valdivia, a land of forest and rain and storm. 26.5 per cent of Chile is forest land, and of this it is estimated that one-half is arable. In this southern section are the great sheep lands of Patagonia, Magallanes and Tierra del Fuego. In the province of Magallanes or Magellan, there is an area

larger than the state of New York, wind-swept and fog-covered, but well adapted to sheep pasture. There are now millions of sheep here. Elliott says in his book on Chile that in 1905, 75,000 frozen carcasses were shipped from Punta Arenas. In 1908 one plant just east of Punta Arenas froze and shipped 196,000 sheep. (2) The real Chile lies between Valdivia and Santiago. Four-fifths of the population live in this central section. It is the cultivated section, though there is much waste land even here. In the provinces of this section, the population varies from 5 to 47 per square kilometer. The average would be near 20. It is full of cities and towns and villages, readily accessible, railroads running up and down and to and fro across it, and all parts not reached by rail are possible of an access which would be deemed very easy in Bahia or Persia. This section is one long valley, with subordinate valleys, covering a region of roughly 500 by 100 miles. The southern half of this section, from Valdivia to Concepcion, is still frontier. The remnants of the Araucanian Indians, the one race whom the Spaniards could not conquer, live in the midst of this southern half. (3) The rest of Chile is the dry land to the north, from Santiago and Valparaiso, latitude 33° to Tacna, at the northern boundary, at 18°. At Valdivia it rains 172 days a year, and the rainfall is 2841.1 m.m. At Santiago it rains 31 days, and the rainfall is 264 m.m. At Antofagasta and Iquique it never rains at all. The nitrate and borax are piled in the open with no fear even of a shower, and the shops display no umbrellas. Here in the north, among the nitrate officinas and at the copper mines, an unstable population comes and goes, with more money

than in the south, and with the freedom of opinion of such a moving company detached from old moorings.

The great curse of Chile is alcoholism. In Santiago, a city with a population of 332,724, it was found recently, when the municipality took up the matter, that there were 6,000 places where liquor was sold, and in Valparaiso, we were told, there was one saloon to every twenty-four men. Mr. Akers, in "A History of South America, 1854–1904," says that Valparaiso, with a population of 140,000, shows 600 more cases of drunkenness reported to the police than in all London, with 5,000,000 souls. Drink has nearly wiped out the Indians. The land is cursed with drink, and foreigners are manufacturing a good part of it.

The general hygienic conditions also are appalling. Smallpox is practically endemic in Valparaiso and Santiago. There were many deaths daily while we were in Santiago. Smallpox sufferers would be seen on the streets or in street cars, and the pest house was in constant use. The conventicles, or tenements, in a land where all such houses are only one story high and there is no excuse for congestion, are simply breeding places for disease and killing grounds for little children. Open sewers run down the uncovered gutters before the long rows of sunless rooms. Seventy-five or eighty per cent of the children die under two years of age, and the general rate of mortality is nearly double that of Europe. Well-informed men declare that the population is stationary. The census reports, which show a population in 1875 of 2,075,991, in 1885 of 2,527,300, in 1895 of 2,712,145 and in 1907 of 3,249,279, do not confirm this impression of stagnancy, but the ablest and best-informed men recognize the evil of the national suicide through

alcoholism and dirt, the uncleanness of the houses and the murderous ignorance of the care of children. Property under $2,000 is not taxed, and on property above that the maximum tax rate is three per mille, or about one-tenth of what we pay in many communities in the United States. There is none of that spirit toward public interests which makes their tax bills the most grateful expenditure of many Americans.

Nevertheless it is a wonderful little republic, patriotic to the last fibre, with many capable and public-spirited men, but without the political or moral spirit in the mass of the nation capable of sustaining representative institutions or creating a progressive state.

These three republics are the leading South American nations. It is their trade and activity which make up almost the whole commercial life of the continent.

4. *Uruguay.* With these three we should group Uruguay. It is the smallest republic, and with the exception of French and Dutch Guiana, the smallest country in South America, and yet it has an area of 72,000 miles and is larger than England. It attained its independence in 1825. It has a population of 1,112,000, 1,472 miles of railroad and 5,000 miles of telegraph. It adjoins the southern state of Brazil, Rio Grande do Sul, and there is now railroad connection of Montevideo with Porto Alegre, one of the two largest cities of Rio Grande do Sul and one of its sea ports which is now connected with São Paulo by the railway. Montevideo, the capital of Uruguay, was founded in 1726, and has now a population of 308,000, only a little less than Santiago, Chile. 3,700 ocean-going ships, of which 1,700 are British, enter the port of Montevideo annually.

Uruguay has had its political irregularities, but the

country has been very steady in comparison with Paraguay, and it enjoys the unique distinction of having its currency on a gold basis with a dollar worth 102 American cents. The country has neither gold nor copper coin of its own, but only paper money and very neat 1, 2, 3 and 5 cent nickel pieces. Montevideo is a semi-Europeanized town with ten banks, five hospitals, trolley cars, a good park, a mediocre cathedral and comparatively few Roman Catholic Churches. It has a good air of thrift and substantial prosperity and through it passes almost all of Uruguay's trade.

The Montevideo type was very interesting to us after seeing the Brazilian. There was no negro blood, and while the policemen and soldiers were Indian or Gaucho, there seemed to be little Indian blood in the city laborer. The stevedores at the docks might have been, as far as appearance went, imported from New York. The faces of the women on the streets and in the shops were as white as in Paris. One-fifth of the population in Uruguay are foreigners. In 1900 there were 73,288 Italian and 57,865 Spaniards. The general type is like a mixture of Italian and Spanish.

The leading products of the country are agricultural and pastoral, the former including wheat, flour, corn, linseed, barley, hay and tobacco, and the latter representing a total of about 30,000,000 head of stock, embracing approximately 7,000,000 cattle, 20,000,000 sheep, 600,000 horses, 100,000 hogs and mules and goats. Of the great estancias or grass farms devoted to the raising of live stock, the Liebig Company owns seven in Uruguay for the supply of its beef-extract factory at Fray Bentos.

These first four republics include two-thirds of the population, but they carry on seven-eighths of the

trade of the continent. Practically all of the immigration to South America has been to these four countries, and it is not without shame that we note that the parts of South America farthest from the United States are the most prosperous parts. Europe has done far more to develop South American trade and resources than we have done, and the best life of South America to-day is the life which has been most touched by northern European influence.

The total population of South America is less than 50,000,000, its exports about $950,000,000 gold, and its imports about $820,000,000. The great excess of exports over imports would be a good sign but for the fact that a great deal of the capital engaged in producing the exports is foreign capital and that the earnings of this capital go out of the country. The same thing is true of most of the railway earnings. If it were not for Brazil and Argentina and Chile, these immense territories would show a commerce less than Denmark's alone. Brazil, however, with almost the same population as Mexico, though it must be acknowledged with far richer resources, has a commerce over four times as much, while Argentina, with only half of Mexico's population, has nearly six times her commerce. Even poor Persia has an export and import trade exceeding that of Paraguay, Ecuador and Colombia. There are great resources in South America, but they are not easily developed. The local populations are not competent to develop them. Commercially, the continent is dependent upon energy and capital from without. When these are introduced, however, what has been already done in Argentina and Brazil shows what may be expected in the development of South American resources. Brazil,

with a population of 20,000,000, exports more than China, with a population of more than 400,000,000. Argentina, with a population of 7,000,000 has exports and imports exceeding by $340,000,000 the total exports and imports of Japan, with a populatioin seven times that of the Argentine. The exports of Brazil and Argentina combined, with a population of 27,000,000, exceed by $222,000,000 the combined exports of Japan and China, with a population of 450,000,000, seventeen times the combined population of Brazil and the Argentine. In proportion to her population, Chile far exceeds in her foreign trade both Japan and China. If Japan exported as much in proportion to her population as Chile does, Japan's exports would amount, not to $228,000,000, but to more than $1,600,000,000, while China's would amount, not to $220,000,000, but to more than $13,000,000,000. From such facts one may gain some impression of the undeveloped trade of the Far East, especially when he reminds himself that the trade of South America is only beginning.

Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay may be grouped, then, in a class apart from the other republics, which as yet are less advanced.[1]

1. *Paraguay.* Paraguay is one of the oldest and yet least advanced of the republics. In 1796, during the days of Spanish rule, the first census was taken and gave a population of 97,480. In 1857 the official census, which like most South American census reports was very unreliable, gave a population of 1,337,439. The further progress of the population was stopped by the wars of 1865–1870, when Paraguay

[1] The following table, based upon the figures in the Annual Review for 1911 of the "Bulletin of the Pan American Union," will bring out the essential facts with regard to the conditions of these countries and

was nearly annihilated in her struggles under the infamous Lopez against the combined forces of Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay. When the wars were over, the official census gave 231,079 inhabitants for the whole country, of whom only 28,746 were men. The female population has always been in excess of the male in Paraguay, with the result that when they outnumbered the men four to one, polygamy and immorality became so common that it was alleged that ninety-eight per cent of the children were illegitimate and the "women were forced to become laborers and bread-winners for the community." It is wonderful that the country has recovered as it has from the paralyzing rule of Lopez. Cattle products and extracts furnish the larger part of the exports. The principal crop is maté or Paraguay tea. The maté

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will also indicate the distinction between the progressive and the backward lands:

| | Area Sq. M. | Population | Imports | Exports | Total Foreign Trade | R. R. Mileage |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Argentina | 1,139,979 | 6,989,023 | $341,217,536 | $361,447,274 | $702,664,810 | 18,166 |
| Brazil | 3,218,130 | 20,515,000 | 235,574,837 | 310,006,438 | 545,581,275 | 13,279 |
| Chile | 291,500 | 3,500,000 | 108,582,279 | 120,021,919 | 228,604,198 | 3,573 |
| Uruguay | 72,210 | 1,112,000 | 42,796,706 | 43,333,124 | 86,129,830 | 1,472 |
| Total | 4,721,819 | 32,116,023 | $728,171,358 | $834,808,755 | $1,562,980,113 | 36,490 |
| Paraguay | 171,815 | 800,000 | $5,374,837 | $4,419,497 | $9,794,334 | 232 |
| Bolivia | 708,195 | 2,267,935 | 18,135,000 (Est.) | 29,080,957 | 47,215,957 (Est.) | 635 |
| Peru | 679,600 | 4,500,000 | 22,508,021 | 31,144,250 | 53,652,271 | 1,656 |
| Ecuador | 116,000 | 1,500,000 | 8,024,105 | 13,666,371 | 21,690,476 | 350 |
| Colombia | 438,436 | 4,320,000 | 17,025,637 | 17,625,152 | 34,650,789 | 614 |
| Venezuela | 393,976 | 2,685,606 | 12,387,551 | 17,948,571 | 30,336,122 | 542 |
| Panama | 32,380 | 419,029 | 10,056,993 | 1,769,330 | 11,826,323 | 202 |
| Total | 2,540,402 | 16,492,570 | $93,512,144 | $115,654,128 | $209,166,272 | 4,231 |
| Total for So. America (11 republics) | 7,262,221 | 48,608,593 | $821,683,502 | $950,462,883 | $1,772,146,385 | 40,271 |

tree looks not unlike our orange tree crossed with a poplar. The leaf and twigs are dried and used for a beverage by steeping them in a bowl or gourd and sucking the drink through a bombilla or pipe with one end consisting of a perforated bulb through which the tea is strained. About 17,600,000 pounds are raised annually in Paraguay and a large crop is produced in southern Brazil. Maté is one of the favorite beverages of the southern section of the continent, ranking with wine and heavier alcoholic drinks and in many sections displacing coffee. 6,000,000 pounds of tobacco are produced annually and the soil is excellent for cotton. There is an insignificant immigration. Less than three per cent of the population is foreign.

2. *Bolivia.* The traveler reaches Bolivia now either from Mollendo in Peru by rail to Lake Titacaca, thence by boat to Guaqui or by rail from Antofagasta in Chile. Bolivia and Paraguay are the only republics in South America with no sea coast, Bolivia having been deprived of her seaboard provinces by Chile in the war of 1879–1883. We entered from Antofagasta, a city of 32,000, where it never rains, the gray overhanging clouds having no meaning, where the sand and dust are inches deep in the back streets and would be in the main streets were the loose dirt not constantly removed, where the surf is always breaking over the reef which half protects the landing stage, and the brown hills utterly barren are ever listening in their dead stillness. Absolutely no food is produced here. The town imports everything and exports in return nitrates and borax and silver from the rich mines in the interior.

Oruro is 574 miles from Antofagasta and 12,000

feet above the sea, and from Oruro it is a nine hours' ride of 150 miles on the Bolivian Railway to La Paz. Most of the way the snow-covered Bolivian Andes, which run up to 25,248 feet, are in view, and Illimani, 24,635 feet high, stands over La Paz buried deep in the unsuspected valley in the great plateau where the Spaniards built it in 1548 and named it "Peace," on the first anniversary of the battle of Huarina. The lovely sight of the city 1,500 feet down from the edge of the plateau, surrounded by terraced fields, with red-tiled roofs only a little marred as yet by the hideous corrugated iron which is an industrial boon and an artistic curse, is an abiding memory.

Railroads now connect La Paz with Chile and Peru and the sea coast. Even now, however, she keeps much of the archaic and remote and seems more like a story-book city than a real one. Only Bogota and Cartagena seem as distant from the real life of the world.

La Paz is a city of 70,000 population. The "Geographia de la Republica de Bolivia" issued by the Government for use in public schools gives the population of the country, according to the census of 1905, as 1,737,143, of whom only 7,425 are foreigners. Chile has few foreigners compared with Argentina and Brazil, but there are 134,524 in Chile out of a population less than double Bolivia's. And of the foreigners in Bolivia only 1,441 are European. The census gives 564,009 people as engaged in agriculture and 399,037 in general industries. The significant fact, however, is the sharply divided racial character of the population. The census states that 903,126 are indigenous or Indians, 485,293 mestizos or mixed Indian and white blood, and 231,088 white. It is this white ele-

ment that governs the country. The Indian is little better than a serf.

The most important item of export is tin. Once it was silver. For a long time Bolivia stood third among the silver-producing countries of the world, the annual output of its mines being estimated at 10,000,000 ounces. The Potosi mines from 1566 to 1615 yielded the Spanish Crown in taxes alone 3,240,000,000 bolivianos, and this was but a twenty-per-cent tax, so that the value of the output of these mines during fifty years must have been over 16,000,000,000 bolivianos.[1] The silver export now is about $3,000,000 annually, and the tin exports are $14,000,000. Gold also was once a rich production. Agriculturally the land is poor. The Andean plateau is too high for wheat and large sections are without rain.

3. *Peru.* The " Report on Trade Conditions in Central America and on the West Coast of South America," issued by the Department of Commerce and Labor in Washington, contains excellent descriptions of these republics. Of Peru it says:

In size Peru is the fourth among South American Republics, its area falling slightly below that of Bolivia. It covers some 695,700 square miles. Of the 4,610,000 enumerated in the estimated population, but a small percentage are of white blood—about 650,000. The remaining eighty-six per cent are negroes, half-breeds, Indians and Asiatics, who have, as a rule, reached but a low degree of civilization, and have little economic importance except as possible laborers in the developing industries of the country.

The country is one of the few in South America which lie wholly within the tropics, the only others being Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela and the Guianas. Its most northerly point lies almost on the Equator and its most southerly in about latitude 19° south. The climate, however, is tropical

[1] " Bolivia," edited by the International Bureau of the American Republics, 1904, 96.

only in a portion of the territory, for the country is divided geographically into three distinct sections. Along the coast is a narrow belt of low-lying lands, ranging in elevation from sea level to 3,000 or 4,000 feet. Here it scarcely ever rains, the climate is intensely dry and hot, and vegetation is found only in the valleys of the few rivers which break through from the Andes. A second section may be described as the highland or plateau region, from 4,000 to 14,000 feet above sea level, with many peaks rising to 18,000 or 20,000 or more. The climate here is temperate or even cold. There is considerable rain or snowfall, and the intense barrenness of the unwatered portions of the coast gives place to a natural growth of grass, shrubs, and even small trees in the more favored sections. Beyond this highland region, on the eastern slopes of the Andes, lies a third, the low-lying tropical river valleys, ranging in elevation from 1,000 to 6,000 feet, with abundant rainfall and uniformly hot climate, and generally densely covered with an immense variety of tropical trees and other vegetation.

Until recently only the first of the three regions above described—the low-lying country near the coast—and a few sections of the plateau region, have played any important part in the economic development of the country. The coast, where irrigated, has yielded various important tropical products, such as sugar, cotton, etc., and the mountains have produced minerals, chiefly silver and copper. Little has been possible in the development of the inaccessible tropical forest region of the east. Now, however, a beginning has been made even there, and the valuable rubber, hard woods and medicinal vegetable products are being carried to the outside world by steamers which ply down the Amazon from Iquitos. An idea of the rapidity of this development is given by the following figures, showing the exports from Iquitos in the past few years (expressed in United States dollars): 1902, $1,405,000; 1903, $2,137,000; 1904, $3,306,000. The indications are that the figures for 1905 will reach over $4,000,000. The bulk of these exports is rubber, $3,209,000 in 1904.[1]

One hears the most diverse judgments upon the character and condition of the various South Ameri-

[1] "Bolivia," edited by the International Bureau of the American Republics, 1904, 41, 42.

can countries. Men of equal opportunities of observation and of equally long experience will directly contradict each other. Some told us that Peru was the worst and the weakest of all the South American governments, except Colombia, and others that the country had made great advance and was encouragingly open to progress. Our own impression, in comparing Bolivia, Peru and Colombia with the other South American countries which we saw was that they undoubtedly brought up the rear, but that of the three, Bolivia was the most backward, Colombia next and Peru next. The Indians in Peru, as we judged from what little we saw and the much more that we heard, were inferior to the Indians in Bolivia and worse treated both by people and government; but in business and trade, in educational institutions, for which Peru had imported a number of American directors, in governmental administration and in its currency, Peru is distinctly in advance. We could not discover that there was much difference between the two countries in the character and influence of the Roman Catholic Church or in the irreligiousness of the men who in both lands either ignore or only nominally support an institution in which they do not believe.

4. *Ecuador.* The trade report just quoted says that

> Ecuador and Colombia together may be regarded as among the most backward of the South American States. Their resources are undeveloped, their surplus products for export are far below the proportion which might be expected from their population, and their imports are correspondingly insignificant. Their importance in the commercial world lies rather in the possibility of future development than in their present status. Ecuador, with an area of 116,000 square miles

and a population of 1,500,000 (12.9 per square mile), exported but $11,520,000 worth of goods in 1904 ($7.68 per capita) and imported to the value of only $7,670,000 ($5.11 per capita).[1]

The reasons for Ecuador's backwardness are given as the unhealthfulness of the port of Guayaquil, notorious for its unsanitary condition as a pest hole of yellow fever, the vexatious government regulations and the revolutionary spirit. Instead of improving the conditions, the republic absorbed the appropriations for the Guayaquil and Quito and Machala waterworks, the parks in Quito, and public roads for the payment of current expenses of administration. Trade conditions have improved slightly since 1904, as the table on page 50 indicates. Cocoa is the most important export. 6,400,000 pounds were shipped in 1908, of which the United States took about one-sixth. The total export of cocoa in 1910 was $7,896,057. $1,258,575 worth of Panama hats were exported. 40,000,000 pounds of rice are produced annually, but this is not enough to meet the demands of the home market.

5. *Colombia.* Colombia is the South American Persia without Persia's excuse. It is a rich and fertile country, not a desert. There is scarcely anything that it cannot produce from the fruits of the tropics to the grains of the temperate zones. It has thousands of square miles of low-lying forests and pastures, capable of raising cattle for the Central American and West Indian markets, and bananas for the United States. It has thousands of square miles of higher valleys and mountain plateaus, thousands of feet high, where it is perpetual spring time. No coun-

[1] "Bolivia," edited by the International Bureau of the American Republics, 1904, 63.

try can produce better coffee and cocoa. It has the richest emerald mines in the world. Its total product of gold has been £127,800,000. Asphalt, rubber, salt, coal, iron, and all that is necessary for the industrial independence of the country and for a large export trade are found in abundance. The whole country could be a garden. Great river systems provide means of communication and highways for trade. Steamboats on the Magdalena River can run from the sea to within eighty miles of the capital and there are other navigable streams tributary to the Magdalena or running into the Orinoco, the Amazon, the Pacific Ocean or the Caribbean Sea.

And yet this rich country is one of the most backward and decrepit nations in the world. She has a few little railroads, the longest of them only ninety-three miles, and all of these were built and many are owned by foreigners. She has only three or four highways, and two of them, the most important of all, from Cambao and Honda to Facatativa, are falling into ruin. One of them, the road from Honda, has already fallen. It never was a real road, but simply a mountain trail, paved in parts, for the use of saddle horses and pack mules. For centuries this was the only road to the capital for all imports and for the people of most of the country. It was probably a better road a century ago than it is to-day, when the traveler finds it only a series of rocky inclines, the stone pavements broken up and the road for the fifty-six miles of its length, until it joins the Cambao road, worse even than any road in Persia. There is an automobile road built by Reyes as one of his spectacular achievements covering over his private looting, running eighty miles north of Bogota over the

plain, but the country can be said to be without roads, more without them than Persia or Korea were ten years ago.

How backward Colombia is may be seen by a comparison with Chile, a country of only four-fifths of Colombia's population.

The following table will illustrate the difference:

| | Colombia | Chile |
|---|---|---|
| Area | 450,000 sq. miles | 307,620 |
| Population | 4,320,000 | 3,500,000 |
| Railroads | 614 miles | 3,573 |
| Exports | $17,625,152 | $120,021,919 |
| Imports | $17,025,637 | $108,582,279 |

The comparison might be extended further if Colombia had any reliable statistics.

The cause of Colombia's special backwardness is not the character of the great mass of the people. They are a willing, industrious, cordial people. We met no people in South America more hearty and amiable. One never asks help in vain. In some of the South American lands there is a great deal of the dourishness of the Indian. There is much Indian blood in the Colombian, but it is a good-hearted, friendly blood. The moral conditions are the same as elsewhere in South America. The control of marriage by the Roman Catholic Church and the use of this control by the priests as a source of income to the Church have resulted, as the priests themselves admit, in a failure on the part of great masses of the population to get married. Men and women live together with no marriage ceremony. Sometimes the relationship is maintained, but the very nature of it makes fidelity too rare. In spite of the good nature of the people there is a great deal of want and suffering. In

some sections goitre is almost universal, and there is the same lack of medical provision which is found in other South American lands. In the Bogota Hospital, crowded so full with its 1,000 patients that some of them were laid on mattresses on the floor, we were informed that the death rate both in Bogota and in the country was abnormally high—how high the doctors disagreed—and that in Bogota with 100,000 people there were 180 doctors and 570 in the whole of Colombia, or one to each 6,000, as against one to each 600 in the United States. In Colombia also we saw more poverty and suffering than anywhere else in South America. In Honda alone one afternoon more beggars came to us as we sat under a tree in front of the hotel after the ride down from Bogota, than we had seen in all the rest of our trip. Colombia is the South American land most praised by the Roman Catholic Church for its fidelity. The Church has here a unique control and here least is done for the suffering and the needy. We did not hear of an institution of any kind for the blind, for the cripple, for the aged. There are leper asylums, but the State has founded them. The women of Colombia are even more burdened than those of other countries. We saw women with pick and shovel working on the highway. The porter who came to take our bags to the station in Bogota was a woman. You may see women with week-old babies folded in their breasts, staggering along under a sack of coffee weighing 150 lbs. or a load of merchandise. The butchers in the market in Bogota were women. And I think one could find no sadder faces than those of the women in the Bogota Hospital. The curse of any land, guilty of uncleanness and untruth, is bound to fall heaviest on its

best hearts, the hearts of the women. But Colombia is not behind the other South American countries because the people are more immoral or more unworthy. They are probably of about the same morality and they are certainly more industrious and more kindly and more eager than many of the others.

The cause of Colombia's special backwardness is twofold. First, is the character of the governing class. No country unless it has been Venezuela or Paraguay, has been more cursed by politicians, men who were concerned only to hold office, to have hands on the reins of government, but who did not use office for any public service or handle the reins of government to guide the nation into better things. Bogota is full of people who live on the state and talk politics and play at life. But politics to them means holding office and drawing salary and talking of the nation and its honor. It does not mean the development of its resources, the improvement of its communications, the education of its children, the progress of its industries. Each other South American country has had its men of the Bogota stamp, but contact with the outside world, the incoming of foreign capital, truer ideals of education, have crowded these men aside or checked them by the creation of another class who are engaged in the real work of the world, in producing wealth and promoting progress. For a time Colombia made real progress and there seemed to be ground for hope that the better days had come, but the treason of Nunez to liberal ideas, as the people regard it, in 1886 was the end of the time of advance, and the revival under Reyes now appears to have been only a cover for his more mercenary treachery.

The other great cause of the special backwardness

of Colombia is the dominance of the Roman Catholic Church, which holds the land in a grasp which she has been obliged to relax in the other South American countries. In the first half of the last century the State asserted for itself a large freedom. It took over many of the great properties which the Church had acquired by its political character and put them to public uses. In Bogota the postoffice, some of the government buildings, the public printing office, the medical school and the hospital are all old convents. In 1888 the Church came back into power through a concordat with the State. Since Ecuador threw off the domination of the Church there is not one South American country where the influence of Rome is so powerful as in Colombia. The archbishop and the Papal delegate in Bogota are the most conspicuous figures after the President. The Papal delegate is the head of the diplomatic corps, and it is said by many that there is nothing which the Church desires that it cannot do. The Church controls education, and while the Constitution proclaims religious liberty, the Church exercises its authority to see that as far as it can order matters the liberty shall not be exercised by the people. The mission school for boys in Bogota was nearly wrecked in 1909, though its prospects seemed brighter than for some years, by the reissuance of a letter by the archbishop, first sent out ten years ago, in which he warned the people against the heretics who had come into the country, naming specifically the Presbyterians, and after setting forth the iniquity and deceit of their doctrines declared:

In consequence whereof and by virtue of our authority we command you (the curate) to communicate and explain with diligence the following points:

1. All persons incur the penalty of the excommunion "latæ sententiæ" exercised only by the Roman Pontiff, who are apostates from the Christian faith, and each and every heretic, whatever the name by which he designates his faith, or the sect to which he belongs, and all persons who believe, harbor or favor or are in general their defenders, as also schismatics and those who pertinaciously separate themselves and deviate from obedience to the Roman Pontiff.

3. No Catholic may, without rendering himself liable to mortal sin, and without incurring the other penalties imposed by the Church, send his sons or daughters or dependents to or himself attend personally any of the institutions or schools founded in this city and known as the American School for Boys as well as that for Girls; nor may he give aid or favor to the aforesaid educational plants.

5. It is a most serious offense for any Catholic to cooperate in or attend the meetings for Protestant worship, funerals, etc., whether within or without the Church (Protestant).

6. Those of the faithful who receive or have in their possession leaflets, tracts, loose sheets, or periodicals such as the "Evangelista Colombiana," "El Progreso" of N. Y. City, Bibles or books of whatever other kind, whether printed within or without the Republic (Colombian), which are sold or distributed by the Protestant missionaries or by their agents or by other booksellers, are absolutely obliged to deliver such books to their parish priest or to surrender them to the ecclesiastical tribunal of the Archbishopric.

This circular shall be read in all churches during mass for three consecutive Sundays for the full understanding of the faithful.

(Signed) BERNARDO,
Archbishop of Bogota.

Read and explain this circular to the people at such times as there may be present the greatest number of persons, and as many times as may be necessary for all the faithful to appappreciate its content.

By order of the prelate,

CARLOS CORTEZ LEE, Sec°y.

The Roman Church in Colombia has been a reactionary and obscurantist influence for centuries. At Cartagena, the best port of Colombia and the most picturesque city we saw, was the seat of the Inquisition where it is said 400,000 were condemned to death, and while that terror has long since passed away, the shadow of the Church as a great repressive, deadening power has remained. The people have not been taught. Peonage has endured and in a modified form been sanctioned by law. The machinery of the Church, it is charged, has been used in the interest of personal and commercial politics. In one word, the fact is that one of the best countries and peoples in South America, and the one most docile to the Church and most under its control, is the most backward and destitute and pitiful.

6. *Venezuela.* Venezuela is another of the South American republics with an immense area and rich resources shamefully neglected through incompetence of government. The 1904 volume on Venezuela published by the Bureau of American Republics presents an interesting table and comments upon it:

| Country | Area sq. kilometers | Population | Inhabitants per sq. kilometer |
|---|---|---|---|
| Venezuela | 1,552,741 | 2,633,671 | 1.69 |
| Germany | 540,700 | 56,367,178 | 104 |
| France | 536,400 | 38,961,945 | 74 |
| Italy | 286,600 | 32,475,253 | 113 |
| Netherlands | 33,100 | 5,263,269 | 159 |
| Belgium | 29,450 | 6,799,999 | 231 |
| Switzerland | 41,340 | 3,315,443 | 80 |
| Ireland | 85,150 | 4,456,546 | 53 |
| | 1,552,740 | 147,639,631 | 95.14 |

The above table shows that the area of Venezuela aggregates that of the seven European countries therein consid-

ered, although its population is fifty-five times less than their total population. This shows that Venezuela's territory can easily contain one hundred and fifty million (150,000,000) inhabitants, which would give but 96.60 inhabitants to the square kilometer.

Venezuela's area, compared with that of Belgium, is fifty-two times larger than the latter's, and to have the latter's density of population it would have to be peopled by *three hundred and fifty-eight million inhabitants.*[1]

It is a land which might support if not the population of Belgium yet a vastly greater population than that of the whole of South America. Japan is not a richer country, and yet Japan, which is one-third the size of Venezuela, sustains nearly twenty times its population. The land

abounds in natural resources. The fluvial system penetrates the most remote points of her territories. The vast plains, covered with verdure the entire year, furnish bountiful subsistence to the herds of cattle. The mountain ranges are covered with forests, from which are obtained rare and precious woods, while the valleys and table-lands are rich in varieties of cereals and fruits which grow in abundance. The mines, containing valuable minerals, are, for the most part, undeveloped and open for investments. The principal exports for the first half of the fiscal year 1907–8 were: coffee, 58,489,200 pounds; cacao, 22,598,021 pounds; divi-divi, 8,714,255 pounds; cattle and asphalt. Rubber shipments aggregated 869,591 pounds, and ox-hides and goat-skins together, 2,481,298 pounds.[2]

7. *Panama.* The youngest of the South American republics is Panama. It has an area of 32,380 square miles, nearly equal to that of the state of Maine, and a population of 361,000 or 11.1 per square mile, less than one-half the population per square mile of the United States of America.

[1] "Venezuela, 1904," 16.
[2] Ibid., 9, 10.

Two mountain chains traverse the territory of the republic, inclosing various valleys and plains which afford excellent pasturage for cattle and in which all the products of the tropical zone are raised. The slopes of the mountains are covered with extensive forests.

Among the products for export, bananas, cacao, indigo, tobacco, sugar cane, India rubber, vegetable ivory, turtle shells, pearls and mahogany are the most important.

The railroad from Colon to Panama, forty-seven miles in length, is still the transportation route of the Panama Isthmus.[1]

The Panama republic owes its being, of course, to the United States. Without our intervention and support the republic could not have maintained its existence. It is a very toy type of republic, with appalling moral, intellectual, and political needs, and with a right to claim from us help to become in reality the republic we have made it in name. The canal, of course, is not in the republic, but on the canal zone, which has been ceded to the United States, and where at present there are about 7,000 Americans, including women and children and about 27,000 laborers, of whom three-fourths are West Indian negroes and the rest Spaniards and Italians. The Gallegos Spaniards from northern Spain are said to be the best labor with the Italians next and the negroes last.

*South American Cities.* The South American lands more than any other countries in the world are built around and governed by cities. As we have seen, the early settlers, instead of spreading over the country and taking farms and forming village communities as was done in North America, at once established cities. Every adelantado or frontier commander was required to found at least three towns. In North

[1] "Panama, 1909," 3, 8.

America the collisions with the Indians were over land. In South America they were over wealth and labor. The North American wanted a place to work for himself. The South American wanted the Indian to work for him. The Spaniard and Portuguese had been accustomed to city life and city government at home, and he knew no other form of association for the new land. At once, accordingly, he founded cities wherever he went, and these are the great cities of South America to-day, Buenos Aires, Rio, Lima, Santiago, Valparaiso, Bogota, Quito, São Paulo, Bahia, Pernambuco, Montevideo, La Paz, Caracas, Asuncion. These cities are the central points of life and influence. There are many smaller cities, but South America is not as Asia and Europe and North America are—a land of towns, villages and separate farmhouses. More than one-seventh of the population of Chile is in two cities, and a third of it in the fifty cities and towns of over 5,000 population. In the Argentine, one-fourth of the population is in Buenos Aires, the largest city in the world south of the Equator. The small population of each land gives to its one or two largest cities a predominant influence. Almost everything centers in the capital. Such a condition is not wholesome. These cities suck in the wealth of the nation, beautifying themselves with revenues needed for the development of the nation's wider interests, and they absorb the energy of government which should be national and not urban. They have no real independent municipal life but are administered by the central government which leaves them scarcely any communal autonomy. Señor Bravo, one of the leading jurists of Chile, in his commentaries on the Law of Municipal Organization refers

to the fact and the reason for it in Chile, and what he says is applicable elsewhere:

> In Chile, as in all the old Spanish colonies, the commune was unknown until established by law. From the earliest period of the conquest the system of *encomiendas* prevailed in our country, by virtue of which the conquerors divided among themselves the land and the people inhabiting it, thereby making impossible those groupings of small proprietors and of local interests which elsewhere formed the base or were the actuating cause of the municipality. Nor was the period of political and social reconstruction which followed independence the most appropriate for promoting the organization of the commune, and the isolated efforts made in this direction were unfruitful. The habits and unprogressive customs of the colonial period continued under the new regime.[1]

In recent years, however, some of the capital cities have been achieving some measure of real municipal government, and the domination of the cities by the central governments has not been without its advantages to the cities, even if these advantages have been purchased at the cost of the country districts. Cities like Rio and Buenos Aires and Santiago have been made beautiful cities and the hygienic conditions, once nearly as deadly in some of them as they are now in Guayaquil, have been greatly improved. In this matter of sanitation and hygiene the South American countries have made real progress and many of their cities inherited a character and distinctive beauty from the past to which the present has often made great additions. But even so there is an appalling amount of work still to be done to make living wholesome in some of the cities whose climatic conditions are almost ideal.

[1] Quoted in "Municipal Organizations in Latin America, Santiago de Chile," 441.

*Taxation.* The burden of taxation in the South American states is very uneven. In Chile it is exceedingly light, as we have seen. In Argentina it is heavier. In Buenos Aires there are imposts upon street cars, carriages, dogs, theatres, bill boards, billiard-halls, telegraph and telephone messages, the use of spaces under city streets, on provisions and wagons conveying them about the city, peddlers, hotels, cellars, etc. But in Brazil the burden is heaviest of all. There are large import duties and the internal revenue levies are almost crushing to industry. Everything is taxed. Even the poor farmer bringing his goods to market is taxed at the city gate or in the market. Prices in Brazil and Argentina, accordingly, are higher than anywhere else in South America and many forms of trade are intolerably burdened. In Brazil especially a wise and frugal and honest political administration would undoubtedly result in such an expansion of industry and commerce as would double the prosperity of the land.

*Foreign Trade.* It is in large part because of the woeful undevelopment of indigenous manufacture that the imports of South America are so great. She exports agricultural and mineral products and imports all else, and some of the South American countries have to import food stuffs also, although there is not one of them that could not amply supply a population many times as great as its own.

The greatest trade opportunity of the United States is in Latin America. In the first eight months of the government fiscal year 1909–10 our exports to Asia were $72,000,000, a loss of $2,000,000 as compared with the preceding year, while our trade with the rest of the Western Hemisphere was $300,000,000, a gain

of $60,000,000. Our trade with Porto Rico was greater than our trade with either China or Japan, and our trade with Cuba exceeded our trade with China and Japan combined. In 1899 our exports to South America were $15,000,000 less than to Asia, but in 1909 they were $10,000,000 greater. The Hon. John Barrett has stated vividly the facts as to the extent of South America's trade and our inadequate but increasing share in it:

South America proper conducted an average foreign trade amounting to $1,513,415,000, of which the share of the United States in 1907 was only $233,293,300, including both exports and imports—barely one-seventh. Analyzing further these figures for the United States, we discover that South America sold to us products to the value of $147,680,000 and bought from us only $85,612,400. This gives a balance against us of practically $60,000,000.

Another comparison shows how far behind we are in the race with the rest of the world. South America purchased from other nations products valued at $660,930,000, of which the United States furnished $85,612,400, or barely one-eighth, and yet the more we study the South American field the more we appreciate that the United States could supply the greater portion of its imports. Correspondingly, we do not give South America as great a market for her products as we ought, for, of her total exports, amounting to $852,485,000, the United States purchased only $147,680,900, or approximately one-sixth.

Having given these figures, some of which are averages, covering a period of years, I now desire to point out, through additional figures, another feature of the situation which is most encouraging. . . .

The entire commerce, exports and imports, between the United States and the countries to the south of her amounted in 1897, ten years ago, to $252,427,798. Three years later, in 1900, this had grown to $324,680,368. Five years more, in 1905, it had expanded to $517,477,368; while two years later, 1907, we are gratified to note that it has reached the splendid total of $587,194,945. It is thus seen that in ten years our

trade with Latin America has increased by the vast sum of $335,000,000, or has more than doubled. Certainly this is a record of which our country can be proud, and yet it is only a beginning of possibilities.

Inasmuch as the total foreign commerce of Latin America for 1907 was over $2,000,000,000, it can be seen that the United States is far from having her share. The great point is that if the United States, under present conditions and with the present lack of interest, can conduct a trade with Latin America of nearly $600,000,000 per annum, it is sure to do a business of $1,000,000,000 in the near future, after our manufacturing and agricultural interests fully realize the value of the opportunity and put forth their best energies to control it.[1]

*Immigration.* This expansion of trade and prosperity in South America is proportionate to the introduction of energy and capacity and character from without. South American progress is not indigenous. It is imported. Those countries which have received no immigration are almost as stagnant now as they have been for generations. The northern and western nations, i. e., from Venezuela around to Bolivia, are the backward nations. There are no railroads, no banks, no great business interests in all these republics which do not depend somewhere upon foreign character and ability. And even in Chile foreign enterprise and integrity are employed in every great commercial enterprise. Even on the ships of the Chilean corporation, the Compania Sud-Americano de Vapores, all the captains and responsible officers are foreign. And it is the scarcity of this foreign element in all these lands which accounts for their backwardness. There has been no immigration to mention to any but four of the republics and these four have been already described as the foremost nations,

[1] Barrett, "Latin America, the Land of Opportunity," 69–73.

separated from the rest. In Venezuela, in 1894, the latest reliable figures show that there were 44,129 foreign residents, of whom 13,179 were Spaniards, 11,081 Colombians, 6,154 British, 3,179 Italians, 2,545 French, 962 Germans, 58 North Americans. In Bolivia there are only 1,441 Europeans. In Peru about 70,000 people enter the country annually and 60,000 leave, a net gain of 10,000 per annum, but few of them are Europeans. And yet it is the European and American element that is to be credited with almost all of Peru's commercial and industrial advancement. Paraguay, which claims to be able to support a population of 68,000,000 and has an estimated population of 800,000, reports only 4,000 Europeans, although it encourages immigration. Contrast with these lands the four more prosperous states. Brazil received 76,292 colonists in 1901, while the total number who came from 1855 to 1901 was 2,023,693. The number of immigrants is less now than it was twenty years ago. In 1891, due in part to a crisis in the Argentine which lessened the immigration there, 277,808 people came to Brazil, of whom 116,000 were Italians. The "Statesman's Year Book" estimates that there are 1,000,000 Germans in Brazil, which is probably an overestimate. São Paulo is almost a foreign city, and the result is seen in its growth from 28,000 in 1872 to 64,000 in 1890, to 239,000 in 1900. In Chile the number of Germans and English in 1907 was over 20,000, with as many Spaniards, and representatives of almost every other European nationality. The Argentine, which is the South American wonderland in wealth and development, is predominantly foreign. Even the Spanish element has been almost overmastered by the Italian, and the Italian stock has been a

good one. Argentina is becoming a new Italy, while British and German capital, and with the capital men to supervise it, have been poured in like water. It is estimated that Great Britain has £280,732,626 invested in Argentina. Europe as a whole has $3,500,000,000 invested in South America.[1] It is the new blood and character from without which account for the progress which South America is making. Even in Chile, where it may seem to be Chilean, the men who are leading the nation bear names that show their British or German ancestry. With us it is now the native stock that dominates and improves the imported blood. In South America the imported blood dominates and improves the native stock. The governing class is European rather than American. Beneath this governing class, of course, is the great body of people with the heavier strain of native blood, uneducated, unawakened.

*Causes of South American Backwardness.* It is this heavy strain of Indian blood, and of negro blood as well in Brazil, and the unfavorable climatic conditions of South America which are usually charged with the responsibility for the backwardness of South America.

But more can be made of the climate than is warranted, for Argentina and Chile and Uruguay lie in the temperate zone. Chile, instead of being a killing ground for little children, should be one of the most beautiful countries in the world. Its valleys and villages should make it a second Switzerland. The Argentine is a great prairie like our own or the Canadian west. The west coast also above Chile, while tropical, is cooled by the Humboldt or Peruvian cur-

[1] Pepper, "Conciliation through Commerce and Industry in South America," 9.

IMMIGRANT STATION, SÃO PAULO; THE "ELLIS ISLAND" OF BRAZIL

rent, and the table-lands, including Colombia and Ecuador, cannot be called tropical, while Brazil is a plateau outside of the low Amazon basin. In the state of Rio, within one hundred miles of the Atlantic, is the mountain of Itatiaya higher than any mountain in the United States east of the Rockies, and from Bahia southwards a journey of fifty miles inland lifts one out of the tropical air. South America cannot plead her climatic or physical conditions as excuse for her moral or political problems or her industrial backwardness. These conditions are advantageous. A different people would have worked out a far different result. As Charles Darwin wrote in his "Naturalist's Voyage in the Beagle," chapter xix, after his memorable visit to South America in 1832–35, contrasting Australia even in 1836 with South America: "At last we anchored within Sydney Cove. We found the little basin occupied by many large ships and surrounded by warehouses. In the evening I walked through the town and returned full of admiration at the whole scene. It is a most magnificent testimony to the power of the British nation. Here, in a less promising country, scores of years have done many times more than an equal number of centuries have effected in South America."

The fundamental trouble in South America is ethical. The people of South America have their noble qualities as truly and as conspicuously as any other people. And there are among them, as among all peoples, all types of character. Speaking generally, they are warm-hearted, courteous, friendly, kindly to children, respectful to religious things, patriotic to the very soul; but the tone, the vigor, the moral bottom, the hard veracity, the indomitable purpose,

the energy, the directness, the integrity of the Teutonic peoples are lacking in them. Some of the South American population, like the Chileans, the Bolivians and the Peruvians are more somber and reserved, comparatively, than others. Think of the deep shadows of their past experiences! But, in general, what Dr. Howell, who has lived long among the Brazilians, says of them is true of the South American type:

> The Brazilian people are in general hospitable, generous, charitable, gay, courteous, communicative, quick at learning, rather fond of show, somewhat ceremonious and proud, rather inclined to look down on labor and laborers, but with a remarkable suavity and a native politeness which is in general in the lowest as in the highest classes. Though not as excitable as the Spanish, there is still a strong element of jealousy in their disposition, and a tendency to vindictiveness.
>
> Physically the typical Brazilian is small of stature, with . . . nervous and bilious temperament, bloodless and sallow complexion, and a generally emaciated and wornout look. . . . The general loose ideas in regard to the marriage relation, together with the universally immoral lives even of the priests . . . have undermined the physical health of the people, while sowing the seeds of disease which more and more incapacitate them for the work yet to be done in developing the immense resources of this magnificent country.
>
> Intellectually, even among the better educated, there is an apathy which is manifest in science, politics and religion. Rome has persistently repressed speculation and independence of thought till now the people are intellectual sluggards. Because of this apathy there is the utmost indifference in most men concerning national interests and policies.
>
> Lack of conscientiousness is said to be the leading *moral defect* of the Brazilians, while reverence for ecclesiastical tradition is an equal obstacle. This latter characteristic not only stands in the way of their accepting a new and true view of life, but is equally unfortunate in its economical effect.[1]

[1] Quoted in "Protestant Missions in South America," 64f.

This judgment on the moral need of South America is the judgment of a friend, not a foe. Those who express it have no Pharisaic contentment with conditions in Europe or the United States. Whoever will point out and help us to correct our faults is welcomed among us. Those who love South America best are equally fearless in pointing out her needs.

In the best general book we have on the eastern countries of South America, Mr. Hale says:

> The Latin American man has no conception of chastity. On one point our inheritance of revolt from the Roman Catholic Church has made us superior to them. We, as a people, have what we style the New England conscience, or what with more dignity should be called a moral sense; this is eminently self-sustaining in all our struggles for improvement and reform. A moral sense has never been more than feebly developed in South America, and where it makes itself felt it has become a force artistic or ethical rather than religious or moral. . . .[1]
>
> Ethically speaking, there is a tone of *immorality* running through all South American life. In diplomacy it may be called finesse, and the bluntly spoken word, which we fondly think is the bond of an American or an Englishman, is hedged by the blossom of verbiage so characteristic of the Romance tongue. I have heard repeated testimony to the high standard of their financial morality; bankruptcy is less frequent than with us and the long credits granted by English and German houses prove the trustworthiness of ordinary business men. I know of one case on the Orinoco where an Englishman once in six months meets a trader from the interior; he has no real security for his sales, yet if at the end of the first half-year the previous bill is unpaid, because the trader could not reach Ciudad Bolivar, the Englishman does not worry at all; he knows that when the year expires the money will be forthcoming, penny for penny. This method of long credits frightens the American Yankee and is an obstacle to trade which otherwise might grow into prosperous proportions.

[1] Hale, "The South Americans," 6.

Another so-called manifestation of immorality is in their sexual relations. I must, however, come to the defense of the South American woman. I have had an intimate acquaintance in Latin American homes for years, and nowhere in the world have I seen purer domesticity, nowhere is there greater domestic service, a sincerer love of children or an honester attempt to lead the life which according to their interpretation God intended them to lead. In Buenos Aires and Rio there is a fast set, as there is in New York and Paris, and the idle rich make opportunity for indulgence just as they do everywhere. Our ways may not be their ways, nor can an Anglo-Saxon always understand the domestic ambition of the Latin; but it is a shocking error to withhold just praise from a pure-minded sex at the other side of the equator. South American women have asked me why there were so many divorces in the United States; with them marriage is a sacrament and a social obligation, and I feel convinced that they preserve their virtue and happiness as well as we do.

In the lower classes conditions are different; marriage is more often a form and a celebration; the percentage of illegitimacy is high, and neither man nor woman is discredited. It is analogous to what prevails among the negro in our southern states or in many of the highly civilized and moral West Indian islands—extra-matrimonial maternity is no crime, and man, not woman, is accountable for unsanctified indulgences. Male chastity is practically unknown.[1]

The official statistics of the South American governments and the facts which the most superficial knowledge of conditions brings to light confirm Mr. Hale's judgment.

According to the census of Brazil in 1890, 2,603,489 or between one-fifth and one-sixth of the population are returned as illegitimate. In Ecuador Mr. W. E. Curtis says that more than one-half of the population are of illegitimate birth. At one time in Paraguay, after the long wars, it was estimated that the

[1] Hale, "The South Americans," 300f.

percentage of illegitimate births was over 90 per cent. In Venezuela, according to the official statistics for 1906, there were that year 47,606 illegitimate births, or 68.8 per cent. In Chile the general percentage is 33 per cent and the highest in any department a little over 66 per cent. In England the percentage is 6 per cent, and in France and Belgium, 7 per cent. In Bolivia, on four random pages of the Military Register of the Republic I counted 158 names; of these names, 97 are stated to be legitimate and 61, or 38.6 per cent illegitimate. There is no shame about the matter in this register. The names of father and mother and their occupation are given in the case of each illegitimate born, as well as in the case of the legitimate. In Uruguay in 1906, 27½ per cent of the births were illegitimate. Some years ago in Barranquilla, Colombia, Father Revallo, of the parish of San Miguel, prepared from the church and municipal records a table of the vital statistics of Barranquilla for fifteen years and published it in one of the secular papers of Barranquilla. This table showed that the illegitimate births during this period were 71.4 per cent of the total births. In Bogota the illegitimate births usually outnumber the legitimate. Barranquilla and Bogota are fairly representative of the whole of Colombia. The statistics would seem to show that the moral conditions in Brazil are better than in any other South American land unless it be the Argentine, for which no statistics of illegitimate births are available. But Brazil's need is deep and real also, as witness this quotation from a recent article written by a priest in answer to a layman (Roman Catholic) who wrote an article in one of the daily papers of Bahia against celibacy, blaming his own Church for all the immo-

rality of the country, holding that if the Church would do away with the prohibition of marriage to the priests, the country would be healed of all its immorality. The priest in his answer shows just what the moral condition of the country is. He says to this layman:

> Will you do me the kindness to answer me, without passion and without preconceived notions, why the religious marriage of a deluge of laymen has not had the effect of moralizing them—men who, notwithstanding their being married, give the most sorrowful spectacle of the most developed libertinism. Is it possible that you, who are so able to give the exact number of priests who are living in concubinage, from the great knowledge you have of our State, have never heard it said that there is an uncountable number of laymen, married men, yes, twice married, married by the civil authority and by the Church, who yet, notwithstanding all this marriage, spend, without exaggeration, large fortunes with women, who by no title or right whatever belong to them, thus giving great scandals to society and do the most shameful injustice to their own wives and children?

But most authoritative of all is the deliverance of the Plenary Council of the Latin American Bishops held in Rome in 1899, describing the moral conditions in Latin America. In the Acts and Decrees of the Council, it is declared:

> The widespread pollution of fornication is to be deplored and condemned, but especially the most foul pest of concubinage, which, increasing both in public and in private, in great cities as well as in country villages, is leading not a few men of every station to eternal destruction. Most unfortunate will be the religious training and the moral estimation of the children begotten of an unhappy union of this sort. So dreadful a plague brings in fear and terror alike, destructive of all religion, of all honor and of true civilization. On that account, moreover, the condition of those living in concubinage is pitiable, because, having wallowed

in the filth of unchastity, they are truly converted only with great difficulty, because, being made a most dangerous rock of stumbling and a cause of many offences, it is with great difficulty that they are willing to satisfy God and men and the Church. Therefore let the guardians of souls, with bowels of mercy, seek out wandering sheep of this kind and lead them back to Christ's fold; and, terrified by no difficulties and placing their hope in God, let them despair of the safety of no sinner, but with the most ardent zeal let them be solicitous for the conversion of all sinners. Hence, availing themselves of the advice of their own Bishop, let them strive to prepare a plain way of conversion, and as often as scandals can be removed from the midst by legitimate marriage, let them gladly remit temporal prerogatives and rights that they may win souls for God and legitimize offspring, according to the rules handed down by approved authors.

And with no less zeal let parish priests and confessors be solicitous for the conversion of adulterers, since their temporal and eternal lot ought to be regarded as utterly miserable. Of these adulterers the Council of Trent has said: "It is a grave sin that dissolute men should have concubines, but it is a most grave sin, and one committed with remarkable contempt for this great sacrament (matrimony) that married men also should live in this state of damnation and should dare sometimes even to support and keep them at home with their wives." [1]

Throughout South America it is safe to say that from one-fourth to one-half of the population is illegitimate, born of parents married neither by Church nor by State. We must allow for cases of unmarried people who are faithful to each other but in such cases the responsibility is upon the Church whose charge for marriage has seemed prohibitory to such couples and whose constant influence is opposed to civil marriage. The idea that a man should be morally pure is too little proclaimed and too much ridiculed in South America. The students say quite candidly, and

[1] Titulus XI, Caput I, 329–336, §§ 756, 757.

those who teach them sadly admit it, that for a boy to remain chaste after the age of sixteen or eighteen is a rare exception. Workers among students in cities like Rio and Buenos Aires, who know their lives intimately, say that they could number on the fingers of their hands all the absolutely pure young men they know in these great student centers. South America is a continent deficient in the standard of absolute moral purity for men. Any record of diseases such as the doctors in the hospitals lay before one, confirms this judgment. There is horrid immorality in our own land, and its existence is a warrant and a call for any effort which anyone is willing to make to heal it. Who dare deny the right and duty of any morally cleansing power to go in upon this moral need in South America? There are hundreds of men in South America to-day who declare that they never received any standard of purity or any power of righteousness until they heard the Gospel from the evangelical missionaries. We were deeply impressed by the solemn statement of one mature man, that all the men who had been boys with him were dead, their lives having been eaten out by sin, and that he would have gone their way with them and was only living and working now because Christ, whom he met through the missions and whom he had never known in the South American system, had redeemed him, in body as well as soul.

There are good men in South America who realize and mourn these deep moral needs. There are other men both there and here who think lightly of what the Latin American bishops so earnestly deplore. Immorality, such men say, is inevitable and universal, and there are worse evils than it is. But we know

that nations that are seamed with moral evil, on whatever continent they may be, are doomed and that true and lasting national prosperity and progress can come only to the nations which are built on clean men and pure homes.

The deepest need in South America is the moral need. The continent wants character. And character has two great springs, education and religion. Are these springs clean and abounding in South America?

# CHAPTER III

## THE PROBLEM OF EDUCATION

The South American republics have never lacked farseeing men who realized that popular government must rest on popular intelligence and that democratic institutions cannot be based on general illiteracy or on an educated oligarchy. Sarmiento, one of South America's greatest statesmen, was one such man. "Found schools," he said, "and you will do away with revolutions." Another of these patriotic men lives in Montevideo and has spent his life in getting together a museum of educational material illustrative of school equipment and pedagogical methods with the one ambition of advancing popular education. From the days of Sarmiento there have been statesmen who put the improvement and enlargement of educational facilities foremost among their policies. Balmaceda whom Chile greatly laments and whose real services to his country are now recognized, did this and built many of the public school buildings in Chile. Some of the best men on the continent are serving the state in education. Each government has its Minister of Education or places a department of education under some other minister, as, for example, the Minister of Justice.

But the educational problems with which these republics have to deal are difficult and perplexing.

They have come down to them out of the colonial period with certain distinct transmitted characteristics. Some of these are brought out in the "Historical Sketch of Education in the Argentine Republic," by Prof. Carlos O. Bunge, of the University of Buenos Aires.[1] The first section of this sketch describes "education during the colonial epoch":

> The conquest and colonization of Spanish America were effected at a time when the divine right of kings was an unquestioned fundamental dogma of the political creed of European nations. The principal object of all the laws relating to the Spanish colonies and their institutions was to maintain the new lands and peoples under the temporal and, to a certain extent, under the ecclesiastical dominion of the Catholic King. . . .
>
> There was no methodical plan, but some form of instruction was instituted in each locality according to its condition and resources. The classical forms of the teaching bodies of the middle ages, which required that the instruction should be strictly dogmatic in its character, were recognized in these decrees. In such distant lands and among such a wild and turbulent mixed population as they contained a severe discipline in habits of obedience to the Crown and Church was indispensable. The Government, therefore, always fearful of insubordination, reënforced by its authority the educational system based upon dogmatism and obedience which the Jesuits had already established in Spain and in nearly all the Catholic world. . . .
>
> The instruction was of a pronounced theological character. The principal object of the universities was to graduate a creole clergy who should keep the principle of the divine right of kings alive and strong in the colonies.

In the third section of his sketch, Professor Bunge speaks more at length of the University of Cordova,

[1] Translated from "El Monitor de la Educacion Comun," October 31, 1908, and published in the Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Education, for 1909.

which was typical of the rest, which was founded in the early part of the seventeenth century by the Jesuits and which maintained its aristocratic character until its "nationalization" (that is, until the national government assumed charge of it) in 1854. Up to that time purity of blood was a prerequisite to admission, and persons of mixed negro and white blood in particular were denied entrance.

The Roman Catholic Church deserves credit for whatever education was given in the colonial days and its limitations were in the main simply those of contemporary ecclesiastical education in Europe, but the spirit and principles of this education lingered on after the colonial period had ended and the republican era had begun, in which the first essential of the new form of government was that all the people should be educated and that their education should be an education in liberty. The old colonial education had been all in the interest of a certain political theory. It had been designed to make men submissive to monarchical authority in State and Church. It was an education in traditional opinions. There was no scientific freedom. There was no free study of history. There was no general and popular education. There were no technical or industrial studies. The whole system was ecclesiastical and aristocratic. The result is that to-day in comparison with the advanced nations of the world there is a great neglect of popular education and an appalling illiteracy.

Before we face these facts, however, and other educational defects, it will be well to recognize the great progress which the South American republics have made in education and the extent of their present educational equipment. Argentina, Chile and

Brazil lead the South American states in their educational development.

1. *Argentina.* In 1868 when General Sarmiento was in Washington as the Argentine Minister, he was elected to the presidency of the republic. Returning to Buenos Aires, he took up his work full of the ideals of education which had come to him in the United States. One of his first acts was to commission Dr. William Goodfellow, an American missionary returning to the United States, to send out some educated American women to establish normal schools in Argentina. Some capable women were sent and were nobly supported in their work. Scholarships were founded for deserving pupils and the influence of the work then done abides to this day. It gave Argentina the place of leadership in Spanish education. In a paper on "Educational Progress in the Argentine Republic and Chile" in the Report of the United States Commissioner of Education for 1909,[1] Prof. L. S. Rowe, of the University of Pennsylvania, gives a comprehensive and accurate account of present educational conditions:

> The impulse given to public education under the presidency of Sarmiento assured the Argentine Republic a position of leadership in educational matters among the South American Republics. Although much has been accomplished since that time, both in the extension of the system and in the improvement of methods, it cannot be said that the Argentine Republic has maintained that position of undisputed leadership in South American educational matters which it once occupied. The most serious obstacles to progress have been:
>
> First. The poverty of the Provinces, upon which the responsibility for primary education was placed under the constitution of 1853, and—
>
> Second. The lack of stability in the educational policy of

[1] 323–349.

the Federal Government in the development of the system of secondary instruction. The technical direction of this branch of the educational system has suffered severely from the uncertainties of political changes. Continuity of policy has been quite impossible. Each incoming minister of public instruction has attempted to leave his impress upon the system of secondary instruction by incorporating his personal views into the curriculum.

Dr. Rowe publishes a table showing the total population of the Argentine on December 21, 1905, to have been 5,974,771. The primary school population, between six and fourteen years of age, was 1,194,945. The total actual attendance in primary schools was 602,565, of whom one-fifth were in private schools. About 50 per cent of the primary school population was in school. In the United States, according to the census of 1900, the number of children between five and fourteen years of age was 16,954,257. The number of these children in school was 10,717,696 or 67 per cent. One-tenth of the total population of the Argentina was in primary schools. One-seventh of the total population of the United States was in schools for the same aged children.

In the Argentine there were 26 "colegios" or secondary schools with a total budget of $1,385,806. Dr. Rowe speaks of two notable defects in these schools —the instability of the curriculum and the lack of carefully trained teachers:

> Instead of training men especially for these positions, the unfortunate plan has been adopted, especially in the smaller towns, of dividing the "catedras" amongst the resident and practicing lawyers and physicians. . . .
>
> Another danger to which every minister of public instruction is subjected is the tremendous pressure for appointments to teaching positions in these schools. Inasmuch as there is no special pedagogical preparation requisite for such

appointments, political leaders are besieged with applications, and soon find themselves unable to withstand the pressure. . . .

The description of secondary education would be incomplete without some reference to the large number of Catholic "colegios" under the direction of the religious orders—Jesuits, Redemptionists, etc. It is to these schools that the sons of the leading families are sent. The State exercises some control, but this control is quite inadequate. The important position occupied by private schools is evident from the fact that in the city of Buenos Aires there are at the present time 450 private as compared with 190 public schools.

The secondary schools for women are known as "liceos." Of these there are but two at present in the Argentine Republic, one in Buenos Aires and the other in La Plata. Their curriculum is even more overburdened, for to all the studies of the "colegios" music and domestic science have been added.

There are 35 normal schools having a four-year course, with two additional years for those who wish to qualify for teaching in normal schools. There are three elementary commercial schools and two industrial schools and a few special schools.

Of the three national universities, the oldest is the University of Cordova, erected nearly three centuries ago. In fact, it is the second oldest university on the American Continent, having been founded in 1609. The other two universities, Buenos Aires and La Plata, are comparatively recent foundations, the latter having been established but four years ago.

A worker who knows the university students well tells us of their moral and religious conditions:

The National University at Buenos Aires has enrolled over four thousand young men of the influential classes of the Argentine Republic. At least half of them come from the smaller cities and towns and live in the boarding houses of the city. The atmosphere in which these students live

is not conducive to moral vigor. There is every encouragement to immorality and gambling, which are the great vices, and, unfortunately, the great majority have no conscience on these sins.

As regards religion, I would say that not over ten per cent of them are more than nominally identified with Roman Catholicism, which is the State religion. Another ten per cent take a hostile attitude towards the Roman Church. This hostility does not mean, however, that there is any sympathy with Protestantism, in the best sense of that word. They are in sympathy with a Protestantism that protests, but they have had no contact with evangelical Christianity. Christianity and Romanism, indeed, mean to them one and the same thing. The great mass of students are indifferent, never having given any thought to religious questions. They believe in nothing.[1]

*2. Chile.* Professor Rowe's paper passes from Argentina to Chile:

Educational progress in Chile presents a striking contrast with the Argentine Republic. In the Argentine Republic the democratic development of the country since 1850 led to the early development of primary education. Secondary and university instruction received but little attention. It is true that the Argentine educational system remained in a primitive state until the presidency of Sarmiento. Nevertheless, even up to his time more attention was given to primary than to secondary schools. The aristocratic social organization of Chile, on the other hand, led to the concentration of effort on the development of the secondary schools. As a result, Chile possesses the best "liceos" and "institutos" in South America. Unfortunately, the system of primary education was neglected for many years and resulted in a degree of illiteracy amongst the masses which made impassable the chasm between social classes. The country is now suffering from the results of this long-continued neglect. With the industrial progress of the country the economic condition of the laboring classes has been steadily improving, but,

[1] C. J. Ewald, "The Students of Buenos Aires," *The Student World*, January, 1909, 7f.

Methodist School for Boys, Concepcion, Chile

owing to their ignorant condition and total lack of preparation, the higher wages have in many cases resulted in degeneration rather than in progress. The primitive wants of the agricultural laborers were satisfied by the lower wage, and the surplus has been used, to a very considerable extent, in an increased indulgence in spirituous liquors. Saving is almost unknown to the Chilean laborer, so that the increased wages have not led to a more careful provision for the future of the family.

On the other hand, the increased wages, in bettering the situation of the laborer, have also given rise to a spirit of discontent, a desire for a larger share in production. The ignorance of the laborer makes him an easy prey to demagogic agitation.

The Chilean educational system in all its branches is national in scope and organization—that is to say, is maintained by the national treasury. No local taxes are levied for educational purposes, and the local authorities have no voice in the administration of or control over the system. . . .

During the past fifteen years the leading statesmen of Chile have realized that this neglect of primary instruction is a real menace to the stability and orderly development of the country. The social organization of Chile is still fundamentally aristocratic. Until comparatively recent times the bulk of the population, especially the agricultural laborers, were in a condition of peonage. The industrial advance of the country, together with the rising wage scale, has produced in the laboring classes a consciousness of power. The illiteracy of the great mass of the laboring classes greatly increases the dangers of the situation. The extension of primary instruction has therefore become one of the conditions prerequisite to orderly national advance. The country must now prepare itself to make every sacrifice for this purpose.

In 1907 there were 2,319 primary schools, with 3,997 teachers and a registration of 197,174 pupils, with an average attendance of 121,176. The primary schools and pupils have doubled since 1891. The population of Chile in 1907 was 3,249,279, so that less than one-sixteenth of the total population was in primary

schools, as compared with one-tenth in the Argentine and one-seventh in the United States.

There are fifteen normal schools, six for men and nine for women. The total matriculation in 1907 was 1,977, with an average attendance of 1,609.

There were 39 "liceos" or secondary schools for boys, with a total registration of 9,302 and an attendance of 7,896, and 30 for girls, with a registration of 4,810 and an attendance of 3,839. But these "liceos" have preparatory or primary departments which enrolled about half of the above numbers, leaving the other half as genuine secondary students.

Commercial schools have been established, enrolling 1,453 pupils, and two excellent industrial schools have been opened in Santiago, one for boys and one for girls. There are 372 private primary schools, and in 1906 the Government granted subsidies to 44 private secondary schools.

*University instruction* has been more fully developed than any other portion of the educational system. . . . At the present time the University [of Chile] offers courses in law and political science, medicine, pharmacy, dentistry, engineering, architecture, and fine arts. The pedagogical institute also forms an integral part of the university organization. . . .

The description of higher education would be incomplete without some reference to the Catholic University situated in Santiago, which offers courses in law, civil and mining engineering, architecture, fine arts, and agriculture. The law school has 185 students; the engineering school, 396; the agricultural school, 12; and the school of fine arts, 55. In all of these departments the equipment is excellent, and the teaching corps has been selected with great care.

The Catholic University occupies an unique position. Its main supporters are the members of the conservative party. Inasmuch as the wealthier elements of Chilean society are to a very large extent affiliated with this party, the donations

and bequests reach a large total each year. In fact, this is one of the few instances in Latin America in which a great national institution is supported exclusively by private contributions.

3. *Brazil.* Higher education in Brazil can be ranked with the higher education offered in Argentina and Chile, but there is a woeful lack of popular primary education. "The Statesman's Year Book" for 1910 summarizes the educational provision which is made as follows:

Education is not compulsory. The Republican Government undertakes to provide for higher or university instruction within the Union, leaving the provision of primary and training schools to the State Governments. There is, in fact, no university in Brazil, but there are 25 faculties which confer degrees. In Rio de Janeiro are also the military college, the preparatory school of tactics, and the naval school. At the Capital are maintained by the Federal Government a school for the blind and another for the deaf and dumb. The Federal Government maintains also a School of Arts and a National Institute of Music in the Capital, there being similar academies of music in the States of Maranhao, Para, São Paulo, and several in the State of Rio de Janeiro. In Manaos, Bahia, and Curitiba there are schools of Fine Arts. There are, besides, 28 industrial schools, 11 agricultural and 9 commercial institutions for tuition. There are faculties of law at Recife, São Paulo, Ceara, Goyaz, Para, Bahia, Bello Horizonte, Porto Alegre and Rio de Janeiro (2); faculties of medicine at Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, and Porto Alegre; colleges of pharmacy at Ouro Preto, Belem, Juiz de Fora, and São Paulo; schools of odontology at Rio de Janeiro, Bello Horizonte and also attached to the colleges of medicine and pharmacy; engineering colleges at Rio, Ouro Preto, Bahia, Recife, Porto Alegre, and São Paulo.

There existed in 1907, in the various States, 7,089 public schools, of which 1,363 were in Minas Geraes, 1,144 in Rio Grande do Sul, and 1,122 in São Paulo. Besides these the municipalities maintained 1,815 schools, and private institu-

tions numbered 2,243. In the Federal capital there are 2 preparatory schools controlled by the Federal Governor, and 40 private. In the States there are 24 public and 258 private establishments of a similar character. For teachers' diplomas there are 29 colleges in all Brazil, supported by the Union, and 15 private. In recent years public instruction has made great progress.

Among the oldest and best known schools are the Military School, the Polytechnic School, and the School of Fine Arts in Rio. There is great disparity of educational development in the different states. Half of the schools of the republic are in the three states of Minas Geraes, Rio Grande do Sul, and São Paulo. The state of São Paulo has gained greatly from American influence. American teachers were imported to start kindergarten and normal schools and Dr. Lane, president of Mackenzie College, the American missionary college in São Paulo, has been a constant friend and helpful adviser of Brazilian education.

The strongest section of the educational system in Brazil is the gymnasium. There are twenty such state institutions and some of them contain efficient and well-equipped teachers and according to Latin American standards do good work. There are forty or more private institutions which until lately were recognized as gymnasia and their students admitted to the professional schools without examination, but the latest educational law has abolished such privileges for all institutions, including the government gymnasia.

There are notable defects to be overcome in Brazil's educational scheme. The country is immense and without any common and central educational organization.

Modern Public School, São Paulo, Brazil

In Brazil education is backward, due, in large measure, to the fact that it is one of the interests that is in the control of the states rather than in the hands of the Federal authorities. In the great centers like the capital, there is real interest in art and letters, but the doctrine of State Rights, as held in those outlying districts where the people themselves are not educated, imposes from their point of view practical obstacles to educational progress. It is a fact that in this, the greatest of the South American Republics, there is no real university.[1]

Roman Catholic influence is increasing again in Brazilian politics and education, but the state educational system is still religiously neutral if not positively hostile. The result is that the great mass of Brazilian students are not only alienated from the Roman Catholic Church but antagonistic to all religion. Mr. Warner of Pernambuco set forth this situation in his address at the Rochester Student Volunteer Convention:

Senhor Argymiro Galvao was at one time lecturer on philosophy in the law school in São Paulo, in many respects the leading law school in Brazil. One of his lectures, "The Conception of God," was published as a tract as late as 1906. I quote the following from that lecture: "The Catholic faith is dead. There is no longer confidence in Christian dogma. The supernatural has been banished from the domain of science. The conquests of philosophy have done away with the old preconception of spirituality. Astronomy, with La Place, has invaded the heavenly fields and in all celestial space there has not been found a kingdom for your God. . . . We are in the realm of realism. The reason meditates not on theological principles, but upon facts furnished by experience. God is a myth, He has no reality, He is not an object of science. . . . Man invented gods and God that the world might be ruled. These conceptions resulted from his progressive intelligence. The simple spirit refrains from all

[1] Marrion Wilcox, "International Coöperation in South American Education," *The Student World*, January, 1909, 5f.

criticism and accepts the idea of God without resistance. The cultured spirit repels the idea in virtue of its inherent contradictions."

Galvao is only one of many educators in the best schools of Brazil who have broken with the Church, and, of all the hundreds of students that annually sit under these teachings, very few could be found who would question the accuracy of this line of thought or seek to justify the Christian faith.

The great difficulty that confronts the laborer in this field is not that of tearing men away from an old faith. The great majority have already repudiated their old faith. The pity of it is that they think they have repudiated Christianity.[1]

4. *Uruguay.* In Uruguay primary education is obligatory. In 1908 there were 1,781 primary schools, 223 urban, and 1,588 rural. In 1907 there were 78,727 pupils enrolled, with an average attendance of 58,215. The boys were 41,321 and the girls 37,406, showing a larger proportion of girls probably than in any other South American country, unless it be Argentina.

The one university of the country is in Montevideo. It has faculties of law, social sciences, medicine, mathematics, commerce, agriculture and veterinary science. There are also a preparatory school and other institutions for secondary education with 2,591 pupils. The university in 1905 had 112 professors, 530 regular students and 661 pupils receiving secondary education. There are normal schools, a School of Arts and Trades, a Military College and a number of Roman Catholic religious seminaries.

There cannot be any sharp classification of South American Republics, but with Uruguay as borderland between, we pass from the three more progressive nations to the states which are indisputably backward in education.

[1] "Students and the Present Missionary Crisis," 327f.

5. *Peru.* The educational situation in Peru is set forth in a paper entitled "Public Instruction in Peru," by Dr. Giesecke, Rector of the University of Cuzco, in The Annals of the American Academy of Political Science, the volume entitled "Progress in Latin America."[1] There is an interesting account also in Garland's "Peru in 1906."[2] Dr. Giesecke recognizes that "the greatest problem confronting Peru today is the organization and extension of public instruction." He points out three "obstacles which impede rapid progress to the best interests of education." One is the physiography of the country —a narrow coast region, with no rainfall, occupying ten per cent of the area, a high mountainous region with poor means of communication occupying twenty-five per cent of the country, and to the east an immense tropical area embracing two-thirds of the republic, little known, thinly settled and in part by uncivilized races. A second obstacle is the social organization of the country, the great mixture of races. The third obstacle is politics.

The constitution of Peru guarantees free *primary instruction* and makes it obligatory. The following table will furnish the details:

| | Receive instruction | Do not receive instruction | Could read | Could not read | Could write | Could not write |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Boys ..... | 65,536 | 164,794 | 73,778 | 156,609 | 50,615 | 179,726 |
| Girls ..... | 34,478 | 151,736 | 41,273 | 144,884 | 28,285 | 157,918 |
| Total ..... | 100,814 | 316,530 | 115,051 | 301,493 | 78,900 | 337,644 |

A census of school children within the age limits for the purpose of primary education was made in 1902.

According to racial distribution there were 67,928 white

[1] 85–104. [2] 126–150.

children, 198,674 indigenous or native children, 144,298 mestizos and 5,644 blacks. . . .

The teachers in the primary schools are women in the majority of cases. Although supposed to have a diploma, the majority of teachers are not so provided. Thus, out of 2,944 teachers, 1,225 men, 1,719 women, two-thirds did not possess a diploma.[1]

There are three normal schools, one for men and two for women, with a total attendance in 1907 of 170. A total of $100,000 was expended on these in 1906 for salaries, equipment, etc., and 25 students were graduated. In 1908 the total revenues available for primary education were $1,309,000. In 1910 they were less than $1,000,000.

In *secondary education* the law provides for two types of schools, colegios and liceos. There ought, according to law, to be 101 liceos. There is not one. There were 28 colegios in 1908 with 3,289 pupils. Three were for girls, with a total of 200 pupils. In 1908 there were 34 private colegios with 1,291 pupils under the care of the Roman Catholic Church or private parties. There is an abundance of educational decrees but the education itself is of a most imperfect character, with a wonderful system of examining boards which are paid fees for every student supposed to be examined regardless of whether he appears for examination. In 1908 the total Government expenditure on the secondary schools was $310,000, most of which went to salaries.

The income of the four universities in Lima, Cuzco, Arequipa and Trujillo amounted in 1908 to about a third of a million dollars. There is also an Engineering School, an Agricultural College and a School

[1] Annals of the American Academy of Political Science, "Progress in Latin America."

of Industrial Arts, all located in Lima. The University of San Marcos in Lima was founded fifty-six years before the settlement of Jamestown, Va., and is one of the oldest institutions on the Western Hemisphere. The University became famous all over South America. There were at one time 1,200 students. The education it gave was scholastic and literary, rather than practical. Dr. Villaran, professor in the faculty of jurisprudence, in an address at the opening of the University in 1900, pointed out the great weakness of education in Peru at the present day:

We still maintain the same ornamental and literary education which the Spanish governors implanted in South America for political purposes, instead of an intellectual training capable of advancing material well-being, which gives brilliancy to cultivated minds, but does not produce practical intelligence; which can amuse the leisure of the rich, but does not teach the poor how to work. We are a people possessed by the same mania for speaking and writing as old and decadent nations. We look with horror upon active professions which demand energy and the spirit of strife. Few of us are willing to endure the hardships of mining or incur the risks and cares of manufacture and trade. Instead we like tranquillity and security, the semi-repose of public office, and the literary professions to which the public opinion of our society urges us. Fathers of families like to see their sons advocates, doctors, officeholders, literati, and professors. Peru is much like China—the promised land of functionaries and literati.[1]

"With the native tastes thus turning to the unproductive professions," the United States Commissioner of Education remarks:

It is not surprising to learn that most of the business of Peru is carried on by foreigners, the railroads, the mines,

[1] Report of United States Commissioner of Education, 1908, Chapter V, "The Modern Aspect of Higher Education in Spanish American Countries," 153.

the manufactures, and commerce being largely in their hands, the reason of this being, as Doctor Villaran repeats, that the old aristocratic idea that labor is dishonorable still prevailed very largely among the Peruvian upper classes. No descendant of a noble could engage in any lucrative occupation; it would disgrace him. Labor is for plebeians, and active commerce is hardly less disgraceful than a manual trade. To this feeling the difference of race also contributed; all the whites wished to be, or be like, counts and marquises, and the best way of proving their nobility was by not working. The Spaniards who came to America became the owners of ranches or mines, but did not work themselves. There were negro slaves and Indians to do the actual work.[1]

The whole educational system of Peru is merely an appeal for a proper system with good sense and permanency in it. Some capable educational advisers have been imported but they have been largely paralyzed by the political machinations which have made education a mere travesty, as in most South American lands. Snr. Garland says quite frankly: "The army of Peru is the principal educational element of the people."[2] He has in mind the pitiful inadequacy of primary education and the instruction given in military service to the large number of ignorant conscript soldiers.

6. *Colombia.* The bulletin of the Bureau of American Republics on Colombia, issued in 1909, says with great trustfulness and optimism:

> A great improvement is to be noted in the extent and efficiency of public instruction throughout the Republic, not only in the centres of population, but also in the rural districts, where numerous public schools have been established. Evening manual training schools are conducted in various

[1] Report of United States Commissioner of Education, 1908, Chapter V, 154.

[2] "Peru in 1906," 164.

parts of the country, and this system of public instruction is receiving the earnest support of the Government.

There is an immense amount of education provided by executive decree in Colombia which is never provided in any more tangible way. The actual educational conditions, while probably better than in some other South American lands, are pitiful.

By the Concordat public education is under the domination of the Church. Articles 12, 13 and 14 of the Concordat declare:

In universities, colleges, schools and other centres of instruction public education and instruction shall be organized and directed in conformity with the dogmas and morals of the Catholic religion. Religious instruction is obligatory in these centres, and the pious practices of the Catholic religion shall be observed in them. Consequently in such centres of education, the respective diocesan authorities, either themselves or by means of special delegates, shall exercise the right of inspection and revision of text-books, in all that refers to religion and morals. The Archbishop of Bogota shall designate the books that are to serve as texts of religion and morals in the universities; and with the object of securing uniformity of instruction in the said matters, this Prelate in accord with the other diocesan authorities, shall elect the text-books for the other establishments of official instruction. The Government shall impede the propagation of ideas contrary to Catholic dogma and to the respect and veneration due to the Church in the instruction given in literary and scientific, as well as in all other branches of education. In case that the instruction in religion and morals, in spite of the orders and preventions of the Government, shall not be conformed to Catholic doctrines, the diocesan authorities can deprive the professors and teachers of their right to give instruction in these matters.

All this means that there is no adequate education of any grade, and that what there is is inferior. Now and then as one rides through the villages or towns

he hears the united murmur of a school at work on memorizing, but there is no real attempt to provide primary education for the people and most of the secondary education is a farce. There is not one school of thorough work and of the first order in all Colombia. There are no normal schools for the training of teachers. The report of the German rector of the Escuela Nacional de Comercio in Bogota presented in 1909 to the Minister of Public Instruction, presents the view of an intelligent and capable man who came to Bogota from educational work in Ecuador and Chile: "Primary and secondary institutions here," he says, "appear to me distinctly inferior to those of the other countries which I have known." We visited the best school in Bogota which was not dominated by the Church, the Universidad Republicana. It had 240 students, 75 of whom were boarders, who paid $16 a month, while day pupils paid $10 a year. It was the most dirty, forlorn, run-down-at-the-heels, unorganized school I have ever seen. And yet this is higher education in Colombia. Neither religion nor ethics can be taught by such education. It is not honest education. How can it be religious? It is not an education in cleanness. How can it be ethical? There is need and there is opportunity for clean, thorough, high principled educational work, to set a standard for both the Government and the Roman Catholic Church. There are no reliable school statistics. There are said to be 2,987 public schools with 200,965 pupils.

Nearly all the schools for secondary education, maintained or assisted by the nation,

are entrusted to religious corporations of the Catholic Church. There used to be in the capital faculties of letters and phil-

osophy; of jurisprudence and political sciences; of medicine and natural sciences; and of mathematics and engineering. Of these only the faculty of medicine and natural sciences is now open. For the working class there is a school of arts and trades directed by the Salesian Fathers. There are three schools or colleges open, under religious orders, and the School of Fine Arts has just been reopened.[1]

The secondary schools under some of the Roman Catholic orders are efficient schools of their kind and represent the best educational advantages obtainable in Colombia.

7. *Ecuador.* Prior to the liberal revolt of Ecuador from the Church of Rome in 1895, education was under the control of the Roman Catholic Church. The school laws allowed none but Catholics to teach in any kind of school or even give private lessons. After the liberal upheaval a Methodist Presiding Elder was commissioned to organize a new system of normal schools. All that the change of conditions promised has not been fulfilled, but there has been marked improvement in the public school system. Primary education is free and theoretically obligatory. In Quito there is a university with 36 professors and 216 students, and there are university bodies in Cuenca and Guayaquil. There are in the country 9 schools for higher education, 35 secondary and 1,088 primary schools. The total number of teachers is 1,498 and of pupils 68,380. There are commercial and technical schools in Quito and Guayaquil and several normal schools. According to the bulletin of the International Bureau of American Republics on Ecuador for 1909, the educational equipment of Quito is "five colleges (one of them a military college), two normal

[1] "Statesman's Year Book," 1910.

institutes (one of which is for girls), a university, a medical school, two seminaries, a theological school, an institute of science, a school of arts and trades, three schools for young women and three kindergartens." [1]

8. *Venezuela.* Public instruction was reorganized by an executive decree of July 4, 1903, according to the provisions of which decree public instruction consists of the following eight branches:

Primary schools, secondary schools, normal schools, national colleges, engineering school, universities, academies, polytechnic school.

In the Federal district 100 public schools are established, and in the States of the Union 600. Instruction is imparted in said institutions according to the provisions of the aforesaid code of public instruction.

Primary instruction is divided into compulsory and voluntary education, both imparted free. Compulsory primary education is imposed by law on all Venezuelans of either sex.[2]

This is the situation on paper. According to the "Statesman's Year Book," 1911, there are now 1,217 elementary schools with 26,988 pupils.

The volume on Venezuela in 1904, issued by the International Bureau of the American Republics, reported 36 national colleges with 131 professors and 1,457 students. The Bureau's bulletin on Venezuela in 1909 states that the total number of federal, municipal and private schools in the country is 1,525, of secondary institutions 88, and of higher institutions 2, the University of Caracas and the University of Las Andes. On June 30, 1908, a total enrollment of 35,777 pupils was reported in a population of 2,664,-

[1] "Ecuador, 1909," 15. [2] "Venezuela, 1904," 503.

241 and the total amount collected for school purposes in 1908 was $776,000.

9. *Bolivia.* Public instruction in Bolivia is divided into primary, secondary and superior. Primary education is gratuitous and as in Peru is theoretically compulsory. By law primary education is under the care of the municipal councils. In 1901 there were, according to official data, 733 primary schools in the whole country, with 41,587 pupils and 938 teachers, the appropriation for the support of the schools being 140,000 bolivianos, or about $56,000.

In secondary education there were in 1901 13 colleges with 115 professors and 2,553 pupils, with an appropriation of 100,000 bolivianos or $40,000. In 1900 the statistics gave eight official colleges, four seminaries, one religious school and four private lyceums. None of these gave the equivalent of the education given in a first-class American high school, yet they offered the degree of B.A. and prepared their students for the professional courses of the universities.

Superior instruction was given in professional courses in law, medicine and theology. There are institutions known as universities at La Paz, Chuquisaca, Cochabamba, Potosi, Tarija, Santa Cruz and Oruco. All these give law courses; the first three give medicine also and theology is given at these three and at Tarija. There were, in 1901, 677 pupils in superior institutions.

There are also two commercial schools at Sucre and Trinidad, one military school at La Paz, one agricultural school at Umala, an engineering and mining school at Oruco and a school of painting at Cochabamba.

10. *Paraguay.* At the bottom of the list educationally comes Paraguay. There, too, education is compulsory on paper. In 1901 there were two normal schools, 15 high schools, 245 primary schools, 107 private schools and one agricultural school, with a total attendance of 25,247 out of a population of 631,347. The total amount appropriated for the Department of Public Works and Public Instruction in 1910 was $453,984. There were five so-called colleges and a national university established in 1890 at Asuncion, declared by its founder to be "a first-class establishment, ranking as high as any other of its kind." It offers a six years' course in law, social sciences and medicine, with courses in pharmacy and botanical training.

This survey has already indicated the strength and weakness of education in South America.

1. There is much good work done, but in general the school systems are showy, top-heavy, theoretical. As the statistics already quoted indicate, a great army of professors is employed over a comparatively small body of students. A great deal of money is spent on appearance but solid work is rare. All this is part of the situation to be met. As Mr. Wilcox says:

> It is absolutely necessary to realize certain characteristics of the Latin American mind in order to understand present conditions in education in South America. In these matters, our friends in the Southern Republics are not self-reliant but dependent, and their attainments are apt to be showy rather than substantial. They themselves characterize their enthusiasms as "fire in straw," blazing up quickly but not usually supplying force for sustained effort. As for strength of intellectual fiber, that is always and everywhere a question of character. In Chile, for example, native boys and young Englishmen work side by side in the same business houses. The former quite outstrip the latter, showing more

ability while they are still quite young, but falling behind in the long race simply because they have not learned lessons of self-reliance and self-control. When a solid foundation of good habits shall take the place of irregularity, self-indulgence, and the vices that are too often acquired in the South American home and in school, the latent talent of these peoples will command world-wide attention.[1]

At the same time it is to be remembered that, as Mr. Warner says of the Brazilian students:

> We are not dealing, as some believe, with men of inferior intellect. In linguistic ability especially, it is probable that no students excel the Latins. It is no uncommon thing to meet an educated Brazilian audience which is capable of appreciating fully a literary program comprising, besides numbers in Portuguese, selections from Italian, Spanish, French, English, and German literature. In such an audience many are able to speak as well as understand several of these languages. With so many avenues of intercourse and such mental agility, it is not surprising that the Brazilian student is extremely sensitive to any influence that may be brought to bear upon him.[2]

What is true of the Brazilian is true of others. The South American young men are quick, alert, responsive. They are deserving of all our friendship and assistance. But they need moral bottom, character, stability—just the qualities which only robust, ethical, open-minded and fearless religious principle can give them.

2. In addition to the weaknesses pointed out in the detailed survey just made, there are three grave general deficiencies which Professor Rowe sets forth in his paper already quoted on "Educational Progress in the Argentine Republic and Chile."

[1] Marrion Wilcox, "International Coöperation in South American Education," *The Student World*, January, 1909.

[2] J. H. Warner, "Religion Among Brazilian Students," *The Student World*, January, 1909, 10f.

The most serious defect of educational organization in the Argentine Republic, Brazil, Chile, and Peru is this tendency to impose the same course of study on every boy and girl, quite irrespective of their tastes or subsequent vocations. From the primary school to the close of the high-school course not the slightest freedom of choice is permitted. . . .

The course of study is open to much criticism, largely because of its rigidity and complexity, but its most serious defect is that it encourages a great number of young men, best fitted for commercial or industrial life, to enter callings for which they have no real capacity. . . . The ambition of almost every family in these countries is to have their sons enter the legal or the medical profession, which has resulted in a degree of overcrowding unknown in any other portion of the civilized world. . . .

Industrial enterprises requiring constant application and assiduous attention are in the hands of foreigners. . . .

Another lesson of American experience of much importance to the Latin American countries is the necessity of training a corps of professional teachers for the "liceos," or high schools. Chile is the only country that has made an important move in this direction. In the Argentine Republic the teaching corps of the high schools, or "colegios," as they are called, is made up of practicing lawyers and physicians. The result is that there is an almost total absence of that personal contact between pupil and teacher which is the distinguishing characteristic of our educational system. . . .

A third lesson of American experience of incalculable value to the Latin American Republics is the necessity of giving greater attention to the education of women. . . . In many respects the influence of women is greater than in the United States, owing to the fact that in the Latin American countries the training of children is left almost exclusively to the mother. That fellowship and companionship between father and sons so characteristic of family life in the United States is almost totally lacking. The mother's directing influence is almost if not quite exclusive. It is only when the sons have reached an age at which it becomes necessary to choose a profession or calling that the father's authority becomes prominent. . . .

The tendency to keep the young woman as far removed as

possible from contact with real life, the atmosphere of artificiality with which she is surrounded, together with the inadequate and in many respects superficial education which she receives, react unfavorably on the character and stability of Latin American society. The young woman enters upon the duties of wifehood and motherhood with either a false or totally inadequate idea of social and economic conditions. An exaggerated spirit of indulgence toward children, an acceptance almost without question of the idea that the sons must sow their wild oats, and the consequent lack of discipline which this involves, tend to develop a generation but poorly equipped with the qualities of self-control, determination, and continuous application so necessary to the development of a vigorous race.

Furthermore, the idea of preparing young women of the middle class to earn their livelihood is but beginning to find acceptance in the countries of Latin America.[1]

3. The problem of providing higher education which shall be thorough and which will produce men of character is underlain by the problem of true popular primary education. Many of the republics provide by law for compulsory education, but the provision is a farce. Bolivia does so. Out of a total school population between five and fourteen years of approximately 400,000, there were 41,587 in school. Peru does so. Out of a total primary school population between five and fourteen years of approximately 700,000, there were 100,814 in school. In the United States, as we have seen, out of a school population between five and fourteen years of 16,954,357, there were 10,761,721 in school.

The issue for June 23, 1909, of *O Estado de São Paulo*, the leading newspaper in São Paulo, contained a letter from a correspondent bemoaning the delinquency of Brazil in the education of her people.

[1] Report of Commissioner of Education for 1909, 325, 326, 327.

In Brazil, he said, only 28 out of each 1,000 of the population were in school; in Paraguay, 47; in Chile, 53; in Uruguay, 79; in Argentina, 96. In the Argentine, out of a population of 6,200,000, 597,203 or 9.632 per cent were in school. In Brazil, out of 19,910,646 (his figures) only 565,942 or 2.842 per cent. In the United States, 19 per cent of the entire population are in school; in Germany, over 16 per cent; in Japan over 12 per cent. In other words, about four times as large a proportion of the American population are in school as of the entire population of South America.

The result in popular illiteracy is just what would inevitably result from such neglect. The facts can be made real to us by home comparison better than in any other way. The average illiteracy in the American nation is ten per cent and a fraction over. If we include all the children under ten years of age who are out of school, we have a total illiteracy in the United States of about sixteen per cent. According to the last official census, the proportion of illiteracy in the Republic of Brazil was eighty-five per cent, including children under six years of age. A Brazilian writer in *O Estado de São Paulo,*[1] bitterly speaks of his country as Analphabetolandia and declares: "There can be no doubt about it but that in a short time Analphabetolandia will be the first nation—of Africa." In the Argentine Republic the illiteracy is fifty per cent among those over six years of age; in Chile, according to the official census, it is sixty per cent; in Bolivia, according to the "Statesman's Year Book," it is eighty per cent among those over ten years of age. The most illiterate state in

[1] Issue of February 13, 1910.

the United States is the state of Louisiana, which is so illiterate because of the great mass of ignorant negro citizens. The average illiteracy of the state of Louisiana is thirty-eight per cent. In other words, Louisiana, charging against it all the ignorance of its great black population, has less illiteracy than any country in South America. And even the most ignorant part of Louisiana—the negroes—averages only sixty-one per cent of illiteracy, which makes the darkest section of the United States—these negroes of Louisiana—as literate as many of the South American republics, in spite of the high intelligence of their leading classes, who cannot bear the weight of the great popular ignorance. We can put it more concretely in one simple parallel. In the year 1901, out of every one hundred conscripts in the Chilean army seventy were illiterate. In 1904, out of every twenty-five hundred recruits for the German army, one was illiterate.

It will bring it to us a little more directly to put the illustrations in yet another concrete form. The Argentine is one of the most intelligent and advanced countries in South America. Compare it for a moment with the state of New York, which is just about equivalent to it in population. In the Argentine there are 15,000 school teachers; in the state of New York there are 40,000. In the Argentine there are 550,000 pupils in the schools; in the state of New York there are 1,400,000. With the same population there are three times as many teachers and three times as many students in the schools in the state of New York as there are in the whole of the Argentine, and the average illiteracy of the state of New York is five per cent and the average illiteracy of the Argentine Republic is fifty per cent. Or compare, once again, the

republic of Bolivia with the state of Minnesota. The population is about the same. The conglomerate conditions of the populations are not unlike. There is just about as large an immigrant population in Minnesota as there is an Indian population in Bolivia. Compare the educational situation of the two states: eighty per cent of illiteracy in Bolivia, four per cent of illiteracy in the state of Minnesota; 1,300 teachers in Bolivia, 14,000 teachers in Minnesota; 50,000 pupils in Bolivia, 438,000 in the state of Minnesota. Or compare the republic of Venezuela with the state of Iowa, two sections of about the same population: 1,700 teachers in Venezuela, 30,000 teachers in Iowa; 36,000 pupils in the whole republic of Venezuela, and 562,000 in the one state of Iowa. Kansas has a population of 1,500,000 in round numbers. The six republics of Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Paraguay and Uruguay combined have a population of 12,000,000 or eight times that of Kansas. Yet Kansas has 11,258 school teachers or about 2,000 more than all these six republics and has just about the same number of children in school. Kansas has one-fourth of her population in school. These republics have one-thirtieth of theirs. If it is said that we have been picking out the darkest sections of South America and contrasting them with the brightest sections of the United States, one could reply that Argentina is one of the brightest parts of South America; but let us take, on the same level, New Mexico and Paraguay. New Mexico has only two-thirds of the population of Paraguay. It has ten per cent more pupils in its schools and twenty per cent more public school teachers.

Consider further the money spent on educational

systems here and there. The tuition fees for Columbia University for one year have amounted to more than the whole sum which the Chilean government was spending in its budget on the education of three and a quarter million people. The income of Cornell University for four months expended on the work of the university has been larger than the expenditure of the Peruvian government on the education of three and a half million people for a whole year. Yale University represents annually twice the educational outlay of Venezuela. The school revenues of the state of Minnesota alone for the fiscal year 1910–11 were $14,318,528, far more than all the west coast republics combined spent on education and twice the amount expended by Argentina. The education budget of New York City for 1912, amounting to $30,379,000,[1] exceeds the combined education budgets of all the South American republics. Not one South American republic with all its wealth and ample time for development has an educational system as efficient as that which the United States has built up in the Philippines in ten years.

Or pass by the tedium of detailed illustration and consider the total educational effort of the whole continent. All South America together has just about the population of Japan. In South America there are 43,000 school teachers; in Japan there are 133,000. In all South America there are two million pupils in the schools; in Japan there are six millions. In other words, comparing Japan with the whole of South America, there are three times as many teachers and three times as many pupils in its schools as in all the republics of South America combined.

[1] The *Evening Sun*, New York, October 25, 1911.

We have scores of mission schools in the one Empire of Japan. If our missionary educational institutions are justified, as they are abundantly, in Japan, they are three-fold more justified, on the face of these facts themselves, in the great continent of Latin America. If we owe our help to Japan, we owe it also to our neighboring continent, bound to us by innumerable friendly bonds, and seeking our brotherly help in dealing with a great need. It has some good institutions and higher educational systems, but it welcomes and desires all friendly aid in shaping character and in meeting the deep intellectual requirements of its great masses.

# CHAPTER IV

## THE ROMAN CHURCH AND THE PROBLEM OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

1. *The founding and development of the Roman Church in South America.*

The religious motive played as large a part in the discovery and settlement of the New World as the motive of political expansion or of commercial greed. Ferdinand and Isabella were animated by a deeper and more sincere desire to extend Christ's kingdom than to enlarge their own. They included this end in their plans and required of the leaders whom they sent out that they should not use violence in the conversion of the heathen but should win them by persuasion alone. After each of his voyages Columbus was asked by the Queen to describe what had been done for the conversion of the Indians. The Portuguese discoverers left a line of religious names up and down the coast of Brazil and Columbus called the first land which he found San Salvador in gratitude to God for his safety. A "Te Deum" was chanted. Shortly after the planting of the royal standard, a rude cross was set up. The seven natives whom he took back to Spain were baptized, with the Spanish monarchs as sponsors. This was the first fruit of the extensive harvest which Rome was to reap in the new world.

Pizarro, on his voyage to Peru, was required to take priests or monks in every vessel. This became the fixed rule for all expeditions to America. Velasquez wrote to Cortes to remember that the chief purpose of his expedition was the conversion of the natives. "He was to take the most *careful care* to omit nothing which might redound to the service of God." The principal standard of Cortes was of black velvet, embroidered with gold, and emblazoned with a red cross amidst flames of blue and white, with this motto in Latin beneath: "Friends, let us follow the cross, and under this sign, if we have faith, we shall conquer."

Cortes himself exhorted his troops to rely on God, who had never deserted the Spaniard in his fight with the heathen. Mass was said and the expedition sailed under the joint protection of St. Peter and St. James. This was the spirit of the conquerors. They might lead very immoral lives; they might be guilty of avarice and untold deeds of cruelty and bloodshed; but they were devout Catholics, upheld by a strong, if superstitious, faith in the righteousness of their cause. They were soldiers of the Cross, fighting in a holy war; and their careers form the last chapter of medieval chivalry.[1]

The Papal bull of 1493 which divided the new world between Portugal and Spain enjoined "the sending out of missionaries apt to teach and of virtuous life, who should convert the natives in all lands to be discovered." And this same year, as Brown has summarized the story of the beginnings:

Bernardo Boil, first apostolic vicar to the New World, landed in Haiti as superior of a band of twelve missionaries, one of whom was Marchena, the friend of Columbus. Marchena built, in the town of Isabella, a rude church, the first in the New World. By 1505 the Franciscans of Haiti, Cuba and Jamaica had so increased in numbers that they united to form the province of Santa Cruz. . . .

In 1514, the bishopric of Darien, the first on the mainland, was erected; and that same year Las Casas baptized a thousand children on a trip through Cuba. . . .

[1] Brown, "Latin America," 72f.

Valencia and his companions, known as the twelve apostles of Mexico, toiled barefoot all the way from Vera Cruz to Mexico City, where they were received by Cortes and his captains with a great show of reverence. . . . The Jesuits went everywhere, but special praise has been given to their work among the Indians in Paraguay, Brazil and Northern Mexico, reaching into California and other portions of our own Southwest.

In the earlier days, Franciscans and Dominicans, not to mention monks of many other orders, and secular priests, were even more prominent. There was a keen rivalry between the secular and the regular clergy. . . . From the towns built by their compatriots, they went forth in groups, by twos, or even singly; and scattered themselves over the entire country. They were undeterred by any obstacle and undaunted by any danger. They endured the severest privations, and many lost their lives from the fatigues of toil, the ravages of disease, or the violence of hostile savages. They counted it all joy to thus win the martyr's crown. A tone of intense devotion and religious fervor characterizes the personal memoirs of these heroic pioneers.[1]

Not all the priests who came to the new world were men like Las Casas. It was a priest named Luque who financed Pizarro's first gold-hunting expedition down the coast from Darien. It was another priest, Valmeda, who acted as Pizarro's mouthpiece in demanding at Cajamarca the Inca monarch's submission to Charles V and who called on the Spaniards to slaughter the Indians, "Fall on, Castilians; I absolve you." And the general effects of the influence of the priests upon the people will appear—but there was the far nobler side, and there have from the beginning been men like Las Casas, who loved the Saviour and served Him and defended and befriended and uplifted the people in their care. It was due to the influence of such men at the beginning that the

[1] Brown, "Latin America," 64–67.

policy of exploiting the Indians without mercy or restraint was denounced by the Church in the bull of Paul III in 1537, declaring that

> the said Indians and all other peoples who hereafter shall be brought to the notice of the Catholics, although they may be without the faith of Jesus Christ, in nowise are they to be deprived of their liberty and of the control of their goods, in nowise are they to be made slaves. . . . We also determine and declare that the said Indians and other similar peoples are to be called to the faith of Jesus Christ by preaching and by the example of a good and holy life.[1]

The Church is to be honored for the stand which it took, even though it did not control the policy of its representatives all over South America, and though it was a long time before natives ceased to be excluded from the full privileges of priestly orders, just as they are still kept out in Africa and Asia to-day.

Many orders of priests poured into South America to carry the Gospel and the Church over the continent. The oldest establishments naturally are in Peru. Ecclesiastics accompanied Valdivia to Chile in 1540. Six years later one of them, Marmatijo, had been made Vicar of Chile by the Bishop of Cuzco. In 1553 five Franciscans came from Lima to establish the Church in Santiago. The cathedral in Lima was begun in 1536 and consecrated in 1625. The first great Archbishop was Toribio, who was appointed in 1578 and whose ecclesiastical province was the largest in the world in point of territory, embracing "almost the whole of South America, with a portion of what is now Central America. And yet," says Father Currier, "the saintly archbishop managed to hold three

[1] Quoted by Brown, "Latin America," 70.

The Old Jesuit Church in Cuzco, Peru

provincial councils. At the first of these, in 1583, the catechism, or 'Doctrina Cristiana,' was ordered, which, composed, I believe, by the Jesuit Acosta, if not by Santo Toribio himself, was translated into the Quichua and Aymara tongues by the Jesuits, and printed by Ricardo in 1584. This was the first book ever printed in South America." [1]

In the Hibbert Lectures for 1884, Dr. Albert Reville summarizes the character of the conversion of the Peruvians:

It is no part of our task to tell the story of the conversion of the natives to Roman Catholic Christianity. It was comparatively easily effected. The fall of the Incas was a mortal blow to the religious, no less than to the political, edifice in which they were the keystone of the arch. It was evident that the Sun had been unable or unwilling to protect his children. The conqueror imposed his religion on Peru, as on Mexico, by open force; and the Spanish Inquisition, though not giving rise to such numerous and terrible spectacles in the former as in the latter country, yet carried out its work of terror and oppression there too. The result was that peculiar character of the Catholicism of the natives of Peru which strikes every traveler, and consists in a kind of timid and superstitious submission, without confidence and without zeal, associated with the obstinate preservation of customs which mount back to the former religious regime, and with memories of the golden age of the Inca rule under which their ancestors were obliged to live, but which has gone to return no more.[2]

In Ecuador the Church was the most powerful influence in making the country Spanish. Mr. Dawson says:

Within a few years after the conquest a regular bishopric was established in Quito, and hundreds of priests and friars

[1] Currier, "Lands of the Southern Cross," 279. The oldest convent of nuns in Lima was founded in 1558.

[2] Reville, "The Native Religions of Mexico and Peru," 199–200.

flocked over to take part in the wholesale evangelization of the heathen natives. The gospel was preached everywhere, churches and chapels built in even the smallest villages, the obdurate Indians were treated with scant ceremony, and it soon became well understood among the natives that a hearty acceptance of the Christian cult tended to keep them out of trouble. Ecuador quickly became one of the most devotedly Catholic countries in the world, and has ever since remained so.[1]

The great missionary body in South America was the Jesuit order. Other priests of a less satisfactory character had preceded them.

In the days of the Spanish conquest, Franciscan monks were the priests who most often accompanied the expeditions, and they took the most prominent part in the earliest establishment of religion. The members of this Order, however, with a few notable exceptions, took no special interest in the evangelization of the aborigines. On the contrary, they were as fierce as the soldiers themselves in their cruelties to the poor Indians. . . . It was the genius of Ignatius Loyola that conceived and perfected a machine able to carry Christianity and civilization to these remote and inaccessible peoples and religions.[2]

The order was founded in 1534. In 1541 Francis Xavier went out to the East Indies, and in 1549 six Jesuits with Nobrega at their head landed in Brazil with Thome de Souza, the first governor. After the founding of Bahia, Nobrega sent members of the order to the other colonies on the Brazilian coast. At Pernambuco they met opposition from the governor, who objected to having priests subject to a foreign corporation. "In São Paulo they labored hard, spread widely, converted a large number of Indians, and perfected their system, but it was there they came

[1] Dawson, "South American Republics," Vol. II, 305f.
[2] Ibid., Vol. I, 169.

most sharply in conflict with the spirit of individualism, and there they suffered their first and most crushing overthrow." [1] Here the great leader was the priest Anchieta, "one of the most notable men in the history of the order, whose genius, devotion and pertinacious courage laid the foundations of Jesuit power so deeply in South America that its effects remain to this day." [2] His spirit is shown in his letter to Nobrega regarding the school he was sent to found:

> Here we are, sometimes more than twenty of us together in a little hut of mud and wicker, roofed with straw, fourteen paces long and ten wide. This is at once the school, the infirmary, dormitory, refectory, kitchen, and storeroom. Yet we covet not the more spacious dwellings which our brethren have in other parts. Our Lord Jesus Christ was in a far straiter place when it was His pleasure to be born among beasts in a manger, and in a still straiter when He deigned to die upon the cross.[3]

The Paulistas, as the Portuguese and Creole settlers in São Paulo were called, warred against the missionaries and the Indians whom they were seeking to protect and train. They "destroyed the Jesuit missions in their neighborhood and became the most expert in Indian warfare and the most terrible foes of the Jesuit system of all the colonists of South America. Their determined opposition was the most potent cause in preventing the subjection of South America to a theocratic system of government." [4]

Jesuit missionaries arrived in Bolivia within twenty-five years after Loyola had founded the order.

They established an important mission on the banks of Lake Titicaca in 1577, and five years later introduced the

[1] Dawson, "South American Republics," Vol. I, 328.
[2] Ibid., Vol. I, 329. [3] Ibid., Vol. I, 330f. [4] Ibid., Vol. I, 170.

printing-press in order to distribute among their proselytes grammars and catechisms in the native tongues. In the seventeenth century they succeeded in penetrating down the eastern slope of the Andes and across the great central plain to the outlying hills of the Brazilian mountain system, where they established several missions among the Chiquitos Indians They even reached the grassy prairies which lie three hundred miles north of the inner angle of the great plateau, converted the Mojos, and taught them to herd cattle.[1]

The great triumph of the Jesuits was in the far interior of southern Brazil, in upper Uruguay and in Paraguay. The Fathers entered Paraguay about 1586 and their success was wonderful. Learning accurately the language of the people, studying their prejudices and conforming to them, teaching them trades and better methods of agriculture, gathering them into towns with comfortable dwellings and good storehouses, they introduced a new era in southeastern Paraguay and founded a Jesuit republic in the province of Guayra, which is now Brazilian territory. Here they seemed secure in the heart of the continent, but once again the Paulistas—seeking Indian slaves, hating the Jesuit theocratic order, claiming the land for white settlers, and, as Portuguese, eager to drive back Spanish occupation—fell upon the defenseless missionaries and wrought havoc with the results of the Jesuits' devoted labor. Driven out from Guayra, the missionaries enlarged their labor in Paraguay and the ruins of their buildings show how great were their establishments.

Doom fell upon the Jesuit missions in South America at the end of the eighteenth century, to the distress of the poor people who had found in them protection and prosperity. In 1760 the Jesuits were

[1] Dawson, "South American Republics," Vol. II, 245.

expelled from Brazil. It was charged that they were mining precious metals by slave labor without giving the government its share. They were the only persons whom the government feared. In 1767 Spain followed Portugal and France in the expulsion of the Jesuits from all her dominions. "In the neighborhood of Lima alone they owned five thousand negro slaves and property to the value of two million dollars, and every penny of their immense accumulations was confiscated by the government." [1]

On the upper Parana the Jesuits had thousands of Indians disciplined and well-armed and devoted to them, but they offered no resistance to the decrees of expulsion but took peaceably the spoiling of their goods. It was not many years before they were back again in many of the South American lands, but meanwhile their work was shattered and it was never restored. The "Cambridge Modern History" declares the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 to have been "the greatest blow inflicted on the Indies since the conquest. . . . It was also a great shock to the missions and to European influence on the frontiers. . . . A great part of the ground lost was never regained; indeed some interior parts of South America were less known to white men in 1850 than in 1750." [2]

What has been said of the Jesuit missions shows that the bull of Paul III was not a dead letter but that earnest efforts were put forth to teach and improve the Indians. But the medieval delusions had come with the men whose education had been under these delusions. The end of external conformity was a sufficient end, and any means were justified which

[1] Dawson, "South American Republics," Vol. II, 71. [2] Vol. X, 271.

promised its attainment. Towns were baptized *en masse*. The protection of the Church drew multitudes to its communion. The limitation of the right of inheritance to baptized children was an effectual pressure. When the Church took away native customs the Indian found all that he had cherished consecrated in the new worship. A more splendid ritual than he had ever dreamed of overawed him. But there were also true efforts made to teach and evangelize and there were men devoted even unto death, who went to and fro preaching the Gospel as they knew it in their Church and age.[1]

The Inquisition played its part also in the new world. It was introduced into Peru in 1570 and for years the present senate building of the Peruvian government was the Inquisition tribunal. The first *auto da fé* was celebrated in 1573 on the great plaza of Lima. Lima in Peru and Cartagena in Colombia were the two chief centers of the Inquisition. The South American historians declare that hundreds of thousands of victims were sacrificed. The traveler is told weird tales still as he stands under the richly carved ceiling of the senate hall in Lima or in the old cathedral at Cartagena with the iron gratings on its windows said to have been the grills of the dark days when men were burned over fires to make them believe. The Inquisition was not used against the Indians but its awful processions and the knowledge of its dread power impressed their imaginations and wielded a great persuasion. During all these years South America knew but one religion. A rigid unity crushed all freedom and made intellectual or spiritual growth an impossibility. The weakening dominance

[1] See Brown, "Latin America," 76–102.

STATUE OF GENERAL BOLIVAR, AND SENATE BUILDING, LIMA, PERU

The Senate Building was formerly part of the old Inquisition

SANTA LUCIA, A PLEASURE GROUND OF SANTIAGO, CHILE

for generations of religious orders and the black blight of the Inquisition are part of the inheritance with which the continent has still to struggle. But the Inquisition is gone forever and the religious orders, which the popular hatred of the Dominicans, because of the Inquisition, helped to overthrow, and which are now regaining some of their power, can never again be what they were in the colonial days.

And what were the real results of the work of the Church in these colonial days in terms of religion and social life? Let three witnesses who cannot be accused of anti-Roman prejudice answer as to the conditions in the sixteenth century.

First, the Mexican historian, General Vicente Riva Palacio:

> The people conquered by the Spaniards in the Indies did not have even a remote idea of Christian doctrine or Catholic worship; but they looked upon their conversion to that doctrine and worship as a necessary consequence of their defeat in battle, as an indispensable requisite which affirmed their vassalage and slavery to the Spanish monarch; since, as this was the principal motive which the conquerors assigned for the invasion, they, however rude we may suppose them to have been, knew that on the outcome of the campaign depended the religion which they were to have in the future, since they would have to adopt that of the Christians as soon as these were victorious.[1]

Second, Father Currier:

> Peru, with all its advantages and churches innumerable, has known to an alarming extent the decline of religion, and though to-day there is a marked improvement over the past, there still remains much to be desired. As far back as the sixteenth century, a frightful state of religious neglect must have existed in Lima, if we accept the statement of the Jesuit Oliva, who gives the credit for the first im-

[1] Quoted by Brown, "Latin America," 74.

pulse toward reform to the Fathers of his own Society. Those were the days of the many lawless adventurers and fortune hunters who were pouring into the new world, which, as Cervantes remarked in his day, was the dumping ground for Spain. . . .

Strange times those were, indeed, according to our views, when the bull-fights on the Plaza Mayor were attended not only by the vice-regal court, but by the religious communities, and by the archbishop himself. Bull-fights, alternating with an occasional *auto da fé* furnished periodical excitement to the people of Lima. The *auto da fé* has gone; but the bull-fight still endures.[1]

Third, the Hon. Thomas C. Dawson, for many years in the American diplomatic service in South America, who dedicates his book on the South American Republics, one of the best books in English on the history and development of South America, to his wife, as "the history of her native continent":

It is impossible not to admire the courage, shrewdness, and devotion of the Jesuits. They went out alone among the savage tribes, living with them, learning their languages, preaching to them, captivating their imaginations by the pomp of religious paraphernalia and processions, baptizing them, and exhorting them to abandon cannibalism and polygamy. Tireless and fearless, they plunged into an interior hitherto unpenetrated by white men. . . .

The Indians were easily induced to conform to the externals of the Christian cult. Wherever the Jesuits penetrated, the aborigines soon adopted Christianity, but to hold the Indians to Christianity the Fathers were obliged to fix them to the soil. As soon as a tribe was converted, a rude church building was erected, and a Jesuit installed, who remained to teach agriculture and the arts as well as ritual and morals. His moral and intellectual superiority made him perforce an absolute ruler in miniature. Thus that strange theocracy came into being, which, starting on the Brazilian coast, spread over most of central South America. In the early part of

[1] Currier, "Lands of the Southern Cross," 281f.

the seventeenth century the theocratic seemed likely to become the dominant form of government south of the Amazon and east of the Andes. . . .

Primarily, at least, the Jesuit purpose was altruistic, though the material advantages and the fascination of exercising authority were soon potent motives. The Jesuits gave the South American Indian the greatest measure of peace and justice he ever enjoyed, but they reduced him to blind obedience and made him a tenant and a servant. Though virtually a slave, he was, however, little exposed to infection from the vices and diseases of civilization; he was not put at tasks too hard for him; and under Jesuit rule he prospered. On the other hand, if this system had prevailed there would have been little white immigration, the Indian race would have remained in possession of the country, and real civilization would never have gained a foothold.[1]

And while two centuries must have availed to familiarize the South American people with the Roman Catholic Church, the statement of Mr. Kirkpatrick in the "Cambridge Modern History," planned by Lord Acton, the greatest Roman Catholic historian whom England has produced, indicates that what Father Currier says of Peru in the sixteenth century was true of South America generally at the close of the eighteenth:

The same license pervaded the Church. The complaint recurs throughout that the clergy are recruited from two sources: some are the outcasts of Spanish parishes and monasteries; others are Creoles, either idle and dissolute men driven by disgrace or want to take Orders, or else men put into religion by their parents with a view of getting a *doctrina* or Indian parish and making a fortune out of the Indians. Many benefices, including most of the *doctrinas,* were by special dispensation in the hands of regular clergy almost exempt from episcopal control. The rule of celibacy was generally evaded; religious duties were hurried through, and

[1] Dawson, "South American Republics," Vol. I, 326–328.

the instruction of Indians was reduced to an absurdity; amidst general immorality in the towns, the regulars set the worst example, making their monasteries places of license and pleasure. The quadrennial chapters of the Orders held for the election of provincial prelates were scandalous scenes of disorder and strife—Creoles and Europeans contending for these lucrative posts, which held the patronage, subject to vice-regal confirmation, of all the parishes administered by the Order; the victor was conducted home by the idlers of the town, waving banners and clashing castanets. From 1629 the different Orders were successively commanded to elect a European and a Creole alternately. At the first Franciscan election held in Lima in 1680 under this rule the Creole *padres* resisted the command, made a murderous attack upon the commissary-general of their Order, and fought in the streets against the infantry sent to suppress the disturbance. The scandals of these chapters recur in vice-regal and episcopal reports down to the nineteenth century. But there were large exceptions to these disorders; the missions required and found self-sacrificing and devoted priests; the Franciscans were better than the other Orders; and the Jesuits observed admirable conduct, maintaining the same discipline as in Europe, expelling unworthy members and devoting themselves in their colleges to education, to study, and to religious and charitable ministrations.[1]

II. *The problem of Religious Liberty.* During all these centuries the Roman Church had entire control of religious instruction in South America. More than this, it had control often of the government or, with occasional exceptions, was the dominant political influence. When the movement of political emancipation came and South America passed out from the control of the Roman Catholic kingdom of Spain, the movement was strictly political and explicitly disavowed any hostility to the Church which was so closely identified with Spain and Portugal as political forces. The Venezuelan declaration of independence stated that in asserting

[1] "Cambridge Modern History," Vol. X, 252, 253.

independence the people ratified their desire "of believing and defending the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Religion of Jesus Christ." It was indicative of the powerful hold the Church had upon the minds of the people that they protested loyalty to the Church and refused to include her in their opposition to Spain and in their assertion of freedom, in spite of the fact that she had been used as a powerful repressive agency against them and that her influence and the influence of her priests had been almost wholly on the royalist side. As the Argentine manifesto asserted of the Spanish course, "They propagated against us atrocious calumnies, attributing to us the design of destroying our sound religion, of setting aside all morality and establishing licentiousness of manners. They carried on a war of religion against us, devising many and various plots to agitate and alarm the consciences of the people, by causing the Spanish bishops to issue edicts of ecclesiastical censure and interdiction among the faithful, to publish ex-communications and by means of some ignorant confessors, to sow fanatical doctrines in the tribunal of penance. By the aid of such religious discords, they have sown dissension in families, produced quarrels between parents and their children, torn asunder the bonds which united man and wife, scattered implacable enmity and rancor among brothers formerly the most affectionate, and even placed nature herself in a state of hostility and variance." In spite of all this, the new republics protested their devotion to the Church and without exception declared the Roman Catholic Church to be the established Church and interdicted all others. There were, however, discussions as to the propriety of denying freedom of re-

ligion and Bolivar himself, addressing the Venezuelan Congress in 1819, expressed regret that the new constitution forbade religious liberty and said, "No religious creed or profession should be prescribed in a political constitution."

The new republics soon discovered that in freeing themselves from the Roman Catholic powers, they had not secured their liberty. The Church was still with them and its radical hostility to free institutions which had been unperceived during the disturbance of war now began to reveal itself. Political parties formed themselves on the issue of progress and liberty or conservatism and Latin Catholicism. The conservative parties got the name of "clericals."[1] Questions arose as to the appointment of bishops. Should the right, formerly exercised by the Spanish government, be exercised by the new governments or revert to the Church? The Church and religious orders were immensely wealthy. Questions of taxation arose. Were the religious orders to be exempt? Should the Church be allowed to roll in wealth, while poverty oppressed the government, to which, under constitutional principles with an established Church, the Church owed everything?

The issue of religious liberty arose also in connection with immigration. Brazil and Argentina especially wanted immigrants from northern Europe and they soon came. But when they came the impossibility of the conditions under which they had to live emerged. The young people wished to marry. They could not do so, for there was no civil marriage. The only marriage was marriage in the Roman Church. Children were born. If born out of Roman marriage

[1] Rankin, "Twenty Years Among the Mexicans," 75.

they were deemed illegitimate. They could not be baptized. There was only Roman baptism. And unbaptized they were incapable of the inheritance of property. And old people died. There were no cemeteries in which they could be laid to rest. The Roman Church absolutely controlled the burial grounds and admitted to them only Roman Catholic dead. The leading minds of South America saw at once the impossibility of the situation. As Alberdi, one of the foremost publicists of Argentina, wrote, "Spanish America, reduced to Catholicism, with the exclusion of any other cult, represents a solitary and silent convent of monks. The dilemma is fatal—either Catholic and unpopulated, or populated and prosperous and tolerant in the matter of religion. To invite the Anglo-Saxon race and the people of Germany, Sweden and Switzerland and deny them the exercise of their worship is to offer them a sham hospitality and to exhibit a false liberalism. To exclude the dissenting cults from South America is to exclude the English, the German, the Irish and the North American, who are not Catholics, that is to say, the inhabitants whom this continent most needs. To bring them without their cult is to bring them without the agent that makes them what they are, and to compel them to live without religion and to become atheists."

Under free institutions, moreover, men began to think freely. They learned more of the world and by comparison came to understand more clearly the real character and corruption of the Church. They saw also that their free institutions were doomed unless they secured them not only against Spain and Portugal, but also against a far more subtle and powerful foe, even Rome itself. Mexico, as the most

enlightened of the new Latin Republics, faced the issue first. She felt its reality in her own situation.[1] Maximilian, himself, issued a manifesto to the Church in which he said, "Confess, my well esteemed prelates, that the Mexican Church, by a lamentable fatality has mingled too much in politics and in affairs of temporal possessions, neglecting in consequence the Catholic instruction of its flocks." The long struggle in Mexico for liberty from Spain and then from Europe ended at last in political independence, and also in independence from Rome, when on February 5, 1867, a new constitution was issued which provided for freedom of religion.

Sooner or later the same issue arose in each of the new states, the republics striving for a healthy development in freedom and the wholesome privilege of enlightened self-government and the Church as constantly throwing her influence against such development and in favor of medievalism, popular ignorance and ecclesiastical autocracy. In 1852, the Pope denounced the movement in New Granada toward religious liberty, which decreed the expulsion of the Jesuits, a curtailment of Church revenues, free education, freedom of the press and freedom of public and private worship. These "nefarious decrees," the Pope condemned and declared to be "null and void." In October, 1864, Pius IX wrote to Maximilian:

> Your majesty is well aware that in order effectively to repair the evil occasioned by the revolution and to bring back as soon as possible happy days for the Church, the Catholic religion must, above all things, continue to be the glory and mainstay of the Mexican nation to the exclusion of every other dissenting worship; that the bishops must be perfectly

[1] See Wilson, "Mexico," 323.

free in the exercise of their pastoral ministry; that the religious orders should be reëstablished or reorganized; that no person may obtain the faculty of teaching false and subversive tenets; that instruction, whether public or private, should be directed and watched over by the ecclesiastical authority, and that, in short, the chains may be broken which up to the present time have held the Church in a state of self-dependence and subject to the arbitrary rule of civil Government.[1]

In December of the same year, the Pope issued an encyclical addressed to all "patriarchs, primates, archbishops and bishops in connection with the apostolic See throughout the world," in which he set forth the following positions:

1. The Catholic Church ought fully to exercise until the end of time a "salutary force, not only with regard to each individual man, but with regard to nations, peoples and their rulers."

2. The best condition of society is that in which the power of the laity is compelled to inflict the penalties of law upon violators of the Catholic religion.

3. The opinion that "liberty of conscience and of worship is the right of every man," is not only "an erroneous opinion, very hurtful to the safety of the Catholic Church and of souls," but is also "delirious."

4. Liberty of speech and the press is "the liberty of perdition."

5. The judgments of the Holy See, even when they do not speak of faith and morals, claim acquiescence and obedience, under pain of sin and loss of the Catholic profession.

6. It is false to say "that every man is free to embrace and profess the religion he shall believe true," or that those who "embrace and profess any religion may obtain eternal salvation."

7. The "Church has the power of availing herself of force, or of direct or indirect temporal power."

[1] Lefevre, "History of the French Intervention in Mexico," Vol. II, 16; Appleton's "Universal Cyclopedia," 1865, 749. Quoted by Butler, "Mexico in Transition," 180.

8. In a legal conflict "between the ecclesiastical and civil powers," the ecclesiastical "ought to prevail."

9. It is a false and pernicious doctrine that "public schools should be opened without distinction to all children of the people and free from all ecclesiastical authority."

10. It is false to say that the "principle of non-intervention must be proclaimed and observed."

11. It is necessary in the present day that the Catholic religion shall be held as the only religion of the state to the exclusion of all other modes of worship.[1]

The American republics were gradually forced to recognize, accordingly, that the establishment of the Roman Catholic Church as the exclusive Church meant the deliberate rejection of those agencies and institutions of liberty, without which they could call their states republics, but could not call their people free. One by one, accordingly, they have been denying the autocracy of Rome as they denied at the beginning of the nineteenth century the autocracy of Spain. There is now practical religious liberty in every South American land. It came last in Peru and Bolivia. The Inquisition was not abolished in these two lands till 1821 and "as late as 1836, the penalty was death for holding any worship other than the Roman Catholic in Bolivia and Peru."[2]

Yet, Church and State are not separated in South America. Indeed, Brazil is the only South American country whose constitution provides for full religious liberty and gives no political precedence to the Roman Catholic Church. The fifth article of the Constitution of the Empire provided, "The Roman Catholic shall continue to be the one established re-

[1] Butler, "Mexico in Transition," 197f., quoting Encylical from *The Christian Advocate*, New York, 1865.

[2] "Protestant Missions in South America," 148.

ligion of the State; all other religions shall, however, be tolerated with their special worship in private houses, and in houses designated for the purpose, without the exterior form of a temple." But the Constitution of the Republic guarantees perfect religious liberty and freedom of worship and debars no man from any office because of his religious belief. The Government pays money for charitable institutions, such as the large hospital in Rio, which are under the Church, but the Roman Catholic sisters are the only persons available as yet for the administration of such institutions. It no longer supports the priests as it did under the monarchy. There has been of late, however, a great ultramontane revival. Many of the Spanish priests expelled from the Philippines by the rebellion there, came to Brazil and the Church has apparently rekindled its purpose to dominate the land.

In Chile, the Church is legally established and receives a subsidy, listed in the annual budget of the Government, of approximately 1,000,000 pesos. Full religious toleration, however, has been guaranteed and in 1888, the Government granted the Presbyterian Mission a charter, stating that "those who profess the Reformed Church religion according to the doctrines of Holy Scripture may promote primary and superior instruction, according to modern methods and practices and propagate the worship of their belief, obedient to the laws of the land." The Church of Rome naturally has still its special privileges and has retained immense wealth.

Its property in Santiago alone is said to be worth more than $100.000,000 in gold. It owns some of the best business blocks in the city. The whole of one side of the Plaza, which

is the centre as well as the most valuable of Santiago business property, is taken up by the palace of the Archbishop and the Cathedral, and there is other property in the neighborhood which belongs to the Church. It has acres of stores, thousands of rented houses and vast haciendas, upon which wines and other products are manufactured and offered for sale. Nearly all is controlled by the Archbishop, although much of the church property is held by the different organizations. The Carmelite nuns of Santiago are the richest body of women in South America, if not in the world.[1]

The state also makes appropriations from the public funds for the support of the parish clergy and of Church schools and for the erection of churches.[2]

In Bolivia the Roman Catholic religion is the religion of the state to the exclusion of other cults, but these are freely tolerated. The law is not observed which until a few years ago stood on the statute books as Article 195 of Chapter III of the Section of the Penal Code of Bolivia that treats of "Crimes against the Religion of the State."

> Whoever conspires directly and in fact to establish any other religion in Bolivia, or aims at having the Republic cease to profess the Catholic Apostolic Roman religion, *is a traitor,* and shall suffer the death penalty.[3]

In Peru there has been a long struggle, and though the Church is established and the Papal representative, as in Colombia, is ex-officio head of the diplomatic corps, yet still there is full practical liberty recognized by the decision of the Supreme Court in releasing and acquitting Mr. Penzotti, who was imprisoned for preaching fifteen years ago.[4] The Constitution of Peru, however, still declares: "The Na-

[1] Carpenter, "South America," 228.
[2] "Protestant Missions in South America," 136.
[3] Quoted by Lee, "Religious Liberty in South America," 12.
[4] Ibid., 14, 15, 48.

tion professes the Apostolic Roman Catholic religion; the State protects it, and does not permit the public exercise of any other." [1]

The movement of religious liberation in South America contains many alternations. A republic which has taken, under liberal guidance, advanced ground on questions of freedom of religion and free education, may under clerical control reverse all its progress, while a state which has been dominated by the Church in the most degrading way may suddenly break through its enslavement into liberty. Colombia illustrates the former course and Ecuador the latter.

In 1888, President Arthur sent Mr. W. E. Curtis to South America as a special commissioner to investigate the prevailing conditions, with reference, of course, to the prospects of trade. This was the judgment he formed of Ecuador:

> The priests had such a hold upon the people, that liberty could not live in an atmosphere which they polluted and the country lapsed into a state of anarchy which has continued ever since. . . . It is the only country in America in which the Romish Church survives as the Spaniards left it. . . . The rule which prevails everywhere that the less a people are under the control of that Church, the better their prosperity, enlightenment and progress, is illustrated in Ecuador with striking force. One-fourth of all the property in Ecuador belongs to the Bishop. There is a Catholic Church for every 150 inhabitants; of the population of the country, ten per cent are priests, monks or nuns, and 272 of the 365 days of the year are observed as feast or fast days. The priests control the Government in all its branches, dictate its laws and govern their enforcement and rule the country as absolutely as if the Pope were its king.[2]

There could be no hope of evangelical work in such

[1] Lee, "Religious Liberty in South America," 13.
[2] Curtis, "Capitals of South America," 306.

a land. Since 1895, however, a complete change has taken place. The Rev. T. B. Wood, D.D., for more than thirty years a missionary in South America, wrote on February 25, 1902:

Ecuador is surpassing all other South American countries in the speed of its new progress. As late as 1895, its constitution excluded all worship but the Roman Catholic absolutely. Now it ensures full religious liberty. Then the civil power was subject to a concordat with the Pope, making it practically subordinate to the ecclesiastical power. Now all ecclesiastical functionaries, from the primate down, are subalterns of the Government. Then all ecclesiastical property belonged wholly to the ecclesiastical authorities. Now it belongs to boards of trustees appointed by the civil authorities and subject to the civil power. Then the school laws allowed none but Catholics to teach in any kind of school, or even give private lessons. Now a Methodist Presiding Elder is commissioned to organize the new system of normal schools, whose directors are all Protestants, and whose basal principles, defined in executive decrees, are the great principles common to evangelical Protestants and evangelical Catholics. Then the Customs House confiscated Bibles and evangelical books presented for importation and a high official declared that so it should be while Mount Chimborazo stood in its place. Since then, tons of Bibles have been carried over the shoulders of Mount Chimborazo and colportage is compassing the whole land. Then both Houses of Congress contained priests and prelates as the ruling elements. Now all ecclesiastics are ineligible for Congress. Then the Senate expelled a liberal because he had been excommunicated. Now, at the last session of Congress, the Senate rejected proposals toward reconciling Church and State, after they had been agreed to by the executive and confirmed by the Pope, and the Lower House passed a marriage law, putting Protestants and Catholics on exact equality.[1]

[1] Letter published in *South American Magazine*, May, 1902, 116; see article "Ecuador, the Republic of the Sacred Heart," *Missionary Review of the World*, November, 1901, 808–814; Vincent, "Around and About South America," 33; Carpenter, "South America," 71.

There have been reactions since and the progress has not been all that could be desired but the country has held to its liberal course.

In Colombia after a liberal régime during which the country made steady progress and there was religious liberty and increasing enlightenment, the clerical party regained power, and its influence has resulted in almost ruining the land and in subjecting it again to medievalism. The Church has since had full control of the situation. Roman Catholicism is constitutionally declared to be the religion of the people. There is a formal concordat between the Papacy and the Government. Art. 1 of this concordat recognizes the Roman Catholic Religion as that of Colombia, and obliges the Government to protect it, and cause it to be respected, in all its rights. Art. 2 reads: "The Catholic Church shall preserve its full liberty and independence of the civil power, and consequently without any intervention from the civil power, it can exercise freely all its spiritual authority and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and conform its own government to its own laws." Art. 3 provides "The canonic legislation is independent of the civil law and forms no part of it; but it shall be solemnly respected by all the authorities of the Republic." Arts. 4, 5 and 6 grant the Church the right to hold property. Art. 7 exempts the clergy from civil and military duty. Art. 8 reads: "The Government is obliged to adopt in the laws of criminal procedure dispositions that will save the priestly dignity, whenever for any motive a minister of the Church may have to figure in a process." Art. 9 grants to the Church the right to collect by law dues, etc., from the faithful to whom service is rendered. Arts. 10 and 11 allow the Church freely to establish

religious orders and to govern them according to its own regulations, and pledge the Church to co-operate with the Government in works of charity, education and missions. Arts. 12, 13 and 14, already quoted in connection with the object of education in South America, turn over the control of education, body and soul, to the Church.

The concordat and legislation passed in accordance with it put marriage in the hands of the Church, and Colombian Law No. 30, of the year 1888, contains the following articles:

Art. 34. Marriage contracted in conformity with the rites of the Catholic religion annuls "ipso jure" the purely civil marriage contracted before by the parties with other persons.

Art. 35. For merely civil effects the law recognizes the legitimacy of the children conceived before a civil marriage is annulled in virtue of the provision of the previous article.

Art. 36. The man who having been married civilly, afterwards marries another woman according to the rites of the Catholic religion, is obliged to furnish proper support to the first woman and the children had by her so long as she does not marry according to the Catholic rite.

In spite of all this there is religious toleration in Colombia and other Churches than the Roman Catholic are entitled to worship freely and to propagate their faith.

In the Argentine the second article of the constitution declares, "The Federal Government supports the Apostolic Roman Catholic Church" and the president and vice-president must belong to the Roman Church. Nevertheless freedom of religion is guaran-

teed to all. Uruguay is also constitutionally allied to the Roman Church and the Archbishop in Montevideo has a voice in the Government, but there is no restriction upon any form of religion. In Venezuela the Roman Church is the state religion and the Government contributes to its support, but here also all Churches are tolerated. In every South American republic, therefore, with the exception of Brazil, the Roman Catholic Church is the state Church. At the same time, either constitutionally or practically, as the result of the assertion of the right of religious liberty, religious toleration is accorded and the freedom of the human mind to face the fundamental questions of life and answer them unintimidated and uncoerced has been secured.

The Church in South America has steadily antagonized this right of religious liberty. It refuses still to accept civil marriage. Section 588 of the Acts and Decrees of the Council of Latin American Bishops in Rome in 1899 declares:

> Among the faithful matrimony cannot be granted, except at one and the same time it be a sacrament; and therefore, whatever other union there may be among Christians, of a man and a woman, apart from a sacrament, even if made by the force of the civil law, is nothing else than a shameful and pestilent concubinage (*turpis et exitialis concubinatus*). . . . Therefore, let the faithful be taught in our regions, in all of which, without exception, the decree "*Tametsi*" of the Council of Trent is unquestionably promulgated and received, that no marriage is contracted without the presence of the proper priest, and that the offspring begotten from a civil union is illegitimate before God and the Church.[1]

And this opposition to civil marriage was extended by the Church in South America to every measure of

[1] Quoted by Lee, "Religious Liberty in South America," 19.

religious liberty and toleration. It is easy to appreciate the position which the Church held. It had always controlled the situation. It believed that it alone was the Church of God and that it owed it to men's souls to hold them in its power. But it forgot that it could not hold them except by free persuasion and that the attempt to lord it over the human spirit is the sure way to alienate and embitter it. That the South American Church should attempt to bar free religious opinions by political exclusion is not to be wondered at when enlightened American Roman Catholics like Father Phelan of "The Western Watchman" hold the same view:

> We hold it as a part of enlightened statesmanship for them to protect the religious unity of their peoples and to prevent the preaching of any non- (Roman) Catholic faith by foreigners. Instead of enacting laws making the public exercise of an imported non- (Roman) Catholic religion possible, they should take effective measures to suppress it wherever it makes its offensive appearance, and to quarantine against it as they would against smallpox and yellow fever.[1]

This accurately represents the attitude which the South American Church has taken toward religious liberty.

[1] "The Western Watchman," February 6, 1898, 4. Quoted by Lee, "Religious Liberty in South America," 66.

# CHAPTER V

## PRESENT RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

*South America is claimed as a Roman Catholic continent.* The Roman Catholic religion is in varying form the state religion, as we have seen. It is legally recognized as such in all but Brazil. Wherever religious data are given in the government census reports, practically the entire population is returned as Roman Catholic.[1] Outside of Argentina, the Roman Catholic Church would claim and the governments would assume, and the men of the various countries would for census purposes declare, that practically the entire population was Roman Catholic. The Roman Catholic Church bears accordingly the full church responsibility for the religious conditions. For three centuries she has been in complete control of the field and has had such opportunities for dominating the life of the continent as the Protestant Church separated from political power and with its sole appeal to the individual intelligence and conscience has never possessed.

[1] In Brazil the census of 1890 divided the population of 14,333,915 as follows: Roman Catholics, 14,179,615; Orthodox Catholics (Greek Church), 1,673; Evangelical, 19,957; Presbyterian, 1,317; other Protestant sects, 122,469; Islamites, 300; Positivists, 1,327; without cult, 7,257. The Chile census of 1907 divided the total population of 3,249,279 as follows: Roman Catholic, 98.05 per cent; Protestant, .98 per cent; Pagan, .75 per cent; no religion, .12 per cent; Mohammedan, .04 per cent; Confucianists, .04 per cent; other religions, .02 per cent. These reports are typical.

The Roman Catholic Church, moreover, accepts the responsibility for South America. It claims the continent as a Roman Catholic continent. It is not a mission field in the eyes of the Vatican, as the United States until recently has been. The Church regards the whole population of South America as composed of its children. Father Phelan states the Roman Catholic claim as to Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador unflinchingly:

> A people which enjoys oneness of belief should guard it as its very life. It should prevent the public exercise of any religion differing from the one it sanctions, without interfering with the liberty of individuals to believe and practice in private any religion they choose. If the Spanish Inquisition did no more than punish the public practice of a heretical faith, it would never have received the condemnation of (Roman) Catholic posterity. The three republics against whose proscriptive laws Dr. Lee and his Methodist brethren complain are Roman Catholic States, whose peoples are all (Roman) Catholic, and among whom no Protestants are found.[1]

These facts compel us candidly to acknowledge that our Protestant Missions in South America are to people whom the Roman Catholic Church calls Roman Catholics. And these Missions must be justified on this basis. If this can be done, it lays a heavy burden of responsibility upon the Church which allows such conditions to exist and covers them with its name, and especially upon the Roman Catholic Churches in other lands which are willing to neglect and even to defend the conditions in South America.

We sought, while in South America, to investigate the whole question fairly and to see all that we could of the Roman Catholic Church and its work. We

[1] Quoted by Lee, "Religious Liberty in South America," 69.

visited more than sixty churches and cathedrals, six hospitals, under the care of Sisters, four schools and seminaries, talked with Roman Catholic priests, laymen and nuns, and with diplomatists, lawyers and doctors and business men, foreign and native, who had some of them a Christian faith and some no religion at all. In the conferences with missionaries and natives, we always raised the question for honest answer: Are Protestant Churches in South America justifiable? The religious problem is the one great subject of conversation throughout South America. As typical of the common views a summary of opinions set forth at a luncheon of leaders of religious work, including a consul and a leading merchant, in Buenos Aires and the terse and intense reply of Professor Monteverde of the University of Uruguay, in Montevideo will suffice. The men in Buenos Aires said: "The work of Protestant Churches in South America is warranted (1) because the Roman Catholic Church which we know here is not in any true sense the Christian Church; (2) because only the presence of the Protestant Church here can by its convicting influence make the Roman Church moral and upright; (3) because if we do not do the work in the Argentine now, we shall have to do it later when it will be far harder and when our 6,000,000 will have become 50,000,000; (4) because the great mass of men in the Argentine are actually entirely outside the Church, without any religion, and there are no agencies trying to reach them; (5) because large and increasing bodies of Protestants from Great Britain, Germany, Denmark, and from among the Waldensians who have come here will be lost if the Protestant Churches do not follow them; (6) because the ideals which the Ro-

man Church has held and realized in South America are intolerable ideals and must be overthrown." Professor Monteverde answered: "(1) The Roman Church here is in no respect the same as that Church in the United States; (2) the Church has given its people no true knowledge of religion; (3) it forbids the Bible to the people; (4) its moral influence is not good; (5) the great mass of the leading people in Uruguay, in government, in society, in the intellectual life of the community, despise it; (6) it hates inquiry and intellectual progress. It would prefer clubs of infidels to Protestant Churches. I speak strongly but soberly, with a full knowledge of facts."

We did not lightly accept these views but pressed all the sceptical questions of which we could think and sought to see the best in the great religious organization which has covered South America. What is to be stated now is a careful and temperate presentation, far within the bounds of the evidence. A great deal that is said in criticism of the South American religious system is to be left out of account; e. g., its raffles and gambling devices at its church fairs, the fireworks at its religious festivals, on which it is said that $40,000 are spent annually in Arequipa alone, religious indifference among men and petty inconsistency in its priests and people. As to the former, the South American Church covers and claims everything and such foolish and sometimes immoral amusements as attach themselves to other activities in other lands, in South America have no home save under cover of the Church; and as to the latter, our best religion is not sufficiently consistent to demand perfect consistency in any other. Also, what is to be said is said of the South American Church and of the

society which it claims to control and has controlled for more than three centuries. It is not said here of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States. Whether what is said is true of the Roman Catholic Church in Spain and Italy it is for others to tell.

In considering the existing religious conditions in South America we must recognize the liability of our Protestant mind to biased judgment. The South American Roman Catholic view of Protestant lands shows us how easy it is for men to mislead themselves by their prejudices.[1] Let us avoid the peril of sweeping generalizations regarding religion in South America by looking specifically at facts which are susceptible of proof.

*What are the conditions for which the Church must bear responsibility?* 1. The first test of religious conditions is to be found in the facts of social life. No land can be conceded to have a satisfactory religion where the moral conditions are as they have been shown to be in South America. If it can be proved that the conditions of any European or North American land are as they are in South America, then it will be proved also that that land too needs a religious reformation. Christianity is not opinion or ritual. It is life and that life must utter itself in moral purity and strength. No amount of theological statement or devout worship can avail to take the place of ethical fruitage in social purity and victory over sin. The simple fact that immorality in any land abounds is all the evidence required to justify the presence in that land of any force that will war against immorality and strive to make men pure,

[1] See article on "Protestantism" in *La Luz*, a Roman Catholic periodical of Arequipa, Peru, May 20, 1910.

whether the land be the United States or South America or Hungary, of which a recent visitor writes of the student classes: "The moral standards are shocking. The saddest thing is that there seems to be so little sense of shame in such matters. Impurity is looked upon as the natural thing. The low ethical conditions are not confined to Roman Catholics. A teacher in a Protestant college said to me, 'No one ever told me when I was a student that it was possible to live a pure life.'"

It is not true to say that the present moral conditions in South America exist in spite of the Roman Catholic Church as immorality in the United States exists in spite of the Churches here. The South American Church has never waged any such war against impurity as has been waged in lands where Protestant Churches are found, or in Roman Catholic Ireland. It has, by its refusal to recognize the validity of civil marriage and by its own extortionate marriage fees, directly fostered illegitimacy. Its priesthood, as will appear, has come out of the life it was supposed to raise and has accommodated itself to the moral standards surrounding it. No single agency in South America is popularly accused of a greater share in the responsibility for these conditions than the confessional. The exclusive control of the moral life of a continent cannot be given over to any institution which, having practical control of government for more than two centuries, and full authority over the conditions of marriage and education, shows as a result of its stewardship a percentage of illegitimacy ranging from fifteen to seventy per cent.

2. Religion in South America has not been as with us the motive of education and the fountain of our

intellectual life. The Protestant missionary enterprise with its stimulus to education and its appeal to the rational nature of man is required by the intellectual needs of South America. It is an uneducated continent. The educational systems are worthy of no small praise, but they want conscience, adaptation, morality; and especially is there need, as we have seen, of the solid education of the masses of the people. Recall the facts as to illiteracy which have already been noted. Agencies which will bring home to these nations the duty of educating all the people and of doing it with sincere thoroughness, of setting right standards, and of relating religion rightly to education, are justified in extending their help to South America. The Roman Catholic Church never did these things. Of its attitude throughout South America in the eighteenth century, the Hon. W. L. Scruggs, formerly American Minister to Colombia, says in "The Colombian and Venezuela Republics": [1]

> It had prohibited the teaching of the arts and sciences, restricted education to the Latin grammar and the catechism, and limited the public libraries to the writings of the Fathers and to works on civil and ecclesiastical jurisprudence. It had even prohibited the study of modern geography and astronomy, and forbade the reading of books of travel. It discouraged the study of the higher mathematics, and condemned all philosophical inquiry and speculation as heresy. It had even placed under the ban such innocent fiction as "Gil Blas" and "Robinson Crusoe"; and there had never been a book, or a magazine, or a newspaper in the whole country that was not conformed to the strictest rule of the Roman Index.[2]

Printing presses were refused even to cities and the influence of the Church was thrown against the

[1] 128.

[2] Quoted by McCabe, "Decay of the Church of Rome," 100.

spread of new ideas. There were notable exceptions among the priests, some of whom were among the leaders of political and intellectual progress, but the general situation is what Mr. Scruggs has set forth. And since the era of freedom began, the educational progress which has been made has been in spite of the Church and against its opposition. It has had its schools, but they were Church schools, teaching the principles of the Roman Catholic program in South America, and they were for only a section of the community. To the extent that the priests do now provide better schools, it is because of the influence wielded by the Protestant spirit. They still resist in any South American country the liberalization of government and education. The Roman Church having had almost full control of the education of a continent for three centuries must be held responsible for such conditions of popular ignorance as exist in South America. Compare the record of the Roman Catholic Church in South America with that of the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches in the United States. With the opportunity and resources of the South American Church, the Protestant Missions now at work in South America would give the Continent more and better education in twenty years than it has received in the last three hundred.

And the intellectual needs of South America are far deeper than this. The Roman Church has fulfilled no ministry to her intellectual life. She has been neither a teaching nor a preaching Church. We heard only one sermon in all the churches which we attended, and that was at a poor little Sunday School in an ornate church in Buenos Aires, where a young priest preached from the pulpit to some children on

the difference between faith and sight. Only occasionally are sermons preached, and those not on the Gospel, nor the great problems of religious faith and moral realities, but on the lives of saints. We heard of only a few Sunday Schools and saw but one. South America is full of scepticism and atheism and free thinking. The men whom the census calls Catholics are often as much Taoists as they are Catholics, and they say, when asked, that they are not Catholics, but sceptics and made such by the Church. "I was born a Catholic," one man told us. "My father was very strict. At seven I knew Latin and took my place as a boy in the service of the Church, but at first I could not understand. Then I understood and saw that the whole thing was false and left it." Meanwhile, to meet a great intellectual problem, the problem of intellectual scepticism, the Church has been doing almost nothing, either in the way of apologetic propaganda or by the challenge of a character-transforming moral power.

It is said by some in its behalf that it follows a subtler principle and holds and molds society by its ministry to the deeper nature through its institutions and its worship. To which it is to be replied, first, that it does not reach the men of South America in this way. They have little to do with its institutions or its worship. And, secondly, the appeal which the Church in South America makes to awe or sensibility is not a fine or worthy appeal. The art and æsthetic taste of the churches and the church worship are simply atrocious. The new churches and their decorations with rare exceptions are worse than the old. There are some splendid old buildings like the Church of San Francisco in La Paz, one of the most

noble churches in South America, the solid dignity of whose unplastered walls and arches and domes not even the gilt trappings of its altars and the outleaping steed of St. James can spoil. And here and there is a good, reverent picture, but the use by the South American churches of the symbols of religion which have such immense educational power is in the worst taste that could be imagined. The result is seen in the general want of real reverence.

The Church is issuing no literature dealing with the fundamental problems of unbelief. It is organizing no preaching missions to educated men. It is not facing the great issues rationally in the schools. Under the stimulus of external influences it has begun to awake in a few places, especially in Chile and Brazil, but over most of the continent the old conditions prevail. The Protestant churches are bearing the chief burden of the defense of supernatural religion against rationalism and fanaticism and indifference. They are needed to meet a situation which the South American Church has not met and cannot meet because it has helped to create it.

3. The South American religion is the one religion in the world which has no sacred book for the people. In China the great ambition of the whole nation for centuries has been to master the Classics. In Moslem lands the Koran is the most exalted of all books and the ideal of the educated man has been to be able to read it in Arabic in its miraculous purity. Hindus and Buddhists have had their sacred books open to all who would study them. But in South America we have had the phenomenon of a land in the complete control of a Church which has, as far as it could, sealed its sacred Scriptures to the people. There are

Roman Catholic translations of the Bible both in Spanish and in Portuguese, but the Church has discouraged or forbidden their use. Again and again priests have burned the Bibles sold by colporteurs or missionaries, even when they were the Roman Catholic versions. Again and again they have denounced the missionaries for circulating the Scriptures and have driven them out of villages where they were so employed, and have even secured their arrest. It is safe to say that not one Roman Catholic out of a thousand in South America would ever have seen a Bible but for the Protestant missionary movement. The priests themselves are ignorant of it. In only one church did we find a copy of it though there were service books by the dozen. And in that one church it had apparently been confiscated in the confessional. The Bible is not read in the Roman Catholic Churches and there are no Bible schools for its study. The Protestant missionary effort, however, has scattered millions of Bibles over South America and not only brought the book with its vivifying power to the people, but actually forced the South American Church to take up a different attitude. *El Chileno,* a clerical paper much read by the laboring class in Chile, and *El Mercurio,* the leading Chilean newspaper, now print portions of the Scriptures daily with Roman Catholic notes upon them. The Roman Catholic Church in Brazil has also modified its position to meet the situation created by the Protestant circulation of a book approved by the Church and yet forbidden by it. Mr. Tucker, the agent of the American Bible Society in Brazil, wrote in 1908:

> In the beginning of our work in Brazil we had to face constantly the fact that the Catholic Church positively pro-

hibited the people from reading the Scriptures and threatened with excommunication any who dared to do so. Even the priests in former years had to ask for a special dispensation if they wished to read and study the Bible for a time. I have visited many priests who did not have a copy of the Bible, and the few that do exist are in Latin.

We have before reported that the first Catholic Congress, which met a few years ago in the city of Bahia, discussed the question as to what should now be done, seeing that their prohibitions, excommunications, persecutions, and Bible-burnings, had not availed to put a stop to the Protestant circulation of the Scriptures, which is all the time increasing. The Franciscan monks were authorized to revise and print the Figueiredo translation of the four Gospels. . . . Later appeared a Harmony of the Gospels, the work of one of the most cultured priests in Brazil. . . .

Early in the present year a priest of the Mission in the College of the Immaculate Conception at Rio de Janeiro completed his translation of the four Gospels from the Vulgate. These he has printed and placed on sale, together with Sarmento's translation of Carriere's French paraphrase of the Acts of the Apostles.

The Archbishop of Rio, who is now a Cardinal, the first in South America, writes a preface commending this work. But in spite of these facts, the circulation of the Bible is still discouraged or prohibited by the South American system and no effort is made in Brazil by the Roman Church to act upon the commendation of the Cardinal. The Council of Latin American Bishops in Rome in 1899 particularly condemned the Protestant vernacular version of the Bible, published by the Bible Societies. The Archbishop of Bogota in his circular issued in 1909, already quoted, declared that all who received or had in their possession " Bibles or books of whatever kind which are sold or distributed by Protestant missionaries or their agents or by other book sellers are

Office of Leading Newspaper, *El Mercurio*, Santiago, Chile

absolutely obliged to deliver such books to their parish priest or to surrender them to the ecclesiastical tribunal of the Archbishopric." His people could not retain copies even of the Roman Catholic versions of the Scriptures which are often distributed by the missionaries. Only a few months ago, the priest in the church on the main plaza in Chillan in Chile, where the great markets are held, boasted openly in church of having burned seven Bibles. The circulation of the Bible in South America is still dependent upon the Bible Societies and the Protestant missionaries. If it were not for them, the people of South America would to-day be without the Bible. Is it wrong to give it to them? Must we justify a movement without which 40,000,000 people would be ignorant of the Bible?

4. One of the most pitiful facts in the religious situation in South America has been the character of the South American priesthood. Drawn either from the lower orders of the native population or from those elements of the priesthood in other lands which were least desired there, the clergy of South America have represented the low-water mark of the Roman Catholic priesthood. There have been exceptions. In Chile the priesthood has been recruited in no small measure from good families and it is in large part an able and efficient body, numbering many zealous and capable men. In recent years also, with a great in-rush of friars expelled from the Philippines and displaced men from Spain, Portugal and France, there have come also many shrewd, devout and earnest men, and throughout South America the European sisterhoods have rendered a loving and devoted service of the type known the world around. With these allowances, however, and recognizing the ef-

fort which the Church is now making to regain the lost ground and to abate the gross abuses of the past, it still remains true that the moral character of the priesthood has not presented to South America the object lesson of purity. The friendly visitor fights as long as possible against accepting the opinion universally held throughout South America regarding the priests. However convinced we may be that the enforced celibacy of the clergy is a wrong and evil principle, we like to believe that the men who take such a vow are true to it and that while the Church loses by it irreparably and infinitely more than she gains, she does gain, nevertheless, a pure and devoted, even if a narrow and impoverished service.

But the deadly evidence spread out all over South America, confronting one in every district to which he goes, evidence legally convincing, morally sickening, proves to him that, whatever may be the case in other lands, in South America the stream of the Church is polluted at its fountains. We have spoken of the immorality of South America as justifying Protestant missions. The Roman Catholic Church in South America must be held in no small measure responsible for the immorality. Not wholly. Those countries are tropical. The people are hot blooded. There is human nature with its untamed passion. In our temperate lands there is immorality for which we would not admit that our churches are to blame. When this has been said, however, there are two more things to be added. It is the business of the Church to protest unceasingly against immorality by her preaching. It is her business to protest against it by her life. All Churches in our land have done this. The South American system has not done it. It has

waged no uncompromising and deathless warfare against sin. It has had no personal purity meetings for boys and young men. It has not cried aloud. It has held its voice and been dumb, before an immorality of which China would be ashamed. And it has been silent because it could not speak. "I think that one-half of our priests have been true and kept themselves pure," said a young Spanish priest in Chile, a father in a French order, to the man who introduced us to him. He and another priest were the only men we met who took so favorable a view. Many said flatly that they did not believe that there was one pure priest. Such a statement is wildly false, but it is terrible when the men of a continent can say such things about their religious teachers. Some of those who knew most priests said sadly that they knew few who they were sure were really good men. A Jesuit priest told us in Colombia that out of eighteen priests whom he knew personally, only one was a pure man. We do not accept so dark a view. There are many good priests, but allowing for these and even assuming that the young Chilean priest's judgment is just, the common opinion throughout South America is, that the priesthood is morally corrupt, and the fact of its corruption is so patent that its influence, instead of being against immorality is itself evil. Specific details are miserable but they can be supplied with parish and name. Detailed proof could be gathered that would fill volumes but it must suffice to say that the vow of purity is a violated vow with a great proportion of the priesthood and that thousands of the illegitimate children in South America have priests for their fathers.

And it is not by the character of the priests alone

that the South American system fosters immorality. It does it by the confessional which many men will not allow their daughters or, if they can help it, their wives to attend; in which, men say, impure thoughts are suggested to their children and improper questions asked of their wives, because priests have to ask them according to the regulations of the Church which were prepared by that Cardinal Liguori, himself a good man, who said, "The most virtuous priests are constrained to fall at least once a month." That is a dangerous acknowledgment under which to set up the confessional. In Colombia we met a priest greatly perplexed as to his own duty, who showed us a manuscript which he had written in Spanish, entitled, "The Word of Common Sense." It was the strongest, most sweeping denunciation we have ever read of the Church. He described the moral condition of the priesthood as he knew it, set forth the political intrigues of the Church, and dealt with strong and unqualified condemnation with the confessional as a source of deep immorality and of family disruption. Whatever limitations, moreover, may surround the idea of confession and indulgence in the mind of the Church, the people understand that by the confessional they are clear of all past sin, which the Church has now taken over, and that if faithful to the Church they may do what they like and be sure of salvation. The Church makes it possible also for whoever wishes to dispose of young children. In many convents there are revolving barrels set in the walls or in some window and so arranged that a small door can be opened, the child placed in the barrel and the barrel revolved, ringing a bell which brings a sister to take the foundling while the bearer can escape

without identification. Why are such things made easy by the Church?

Everyone speaks well of the sisters and nuns, who represent what is noblest and best in the Church; but why do they too do things in the dark? And the priesthood is not only a bad influence morally, it is so mercenary that its greed is a scandal. In part its mercenary character is forced upon it. It is the method of support which has grown up. The Passionist Fathers in Buenos Aires lamented that the necessity of raising the support of priests by charges for baptisms and marriages and masses had brought the priesthood into disrepute. Refined men would doubtless arrange the matter in unobjectionable ways, but the priests in the main come from the coarser classes of the people, they must often come from very low classes, for the worst faces one sees in South America, the most sensual and animal and gross, as well as some of the most wistful and attractive, are the faces of priests. Is the ministry of the Gospel to be left to this priesthood? Are the people of South America to receive the chalice of life from their hands? Is there any Church in the world or any section of any Church which will deny the duty of Christianity to redeem this situation in South America? If it is thought that perhaps the situation as to the character of priests has been stated here too severely, a few testimonies from the innumerable witnesses who might be summoned will suffice:

(1) Cox's "Life of Cardinal Vaughan." Vaughan, who was later the highest Roman Catholic ecclesiastic in England, visited South America in the sixties and wrote of what he saw in New Granada: "The monks are in the lowest state of degradation and the

suppression of them would be an act of divine favor." "To Herbert Vaughan," says his biographer,[1] "shocked at what he heard on all sides of the state of the clergy, the persecution which had now gone on for some time (the Government at this time had forbidden the priests to say mass or celebrate any of the sacraments) seemed less a scourge than a providential chastisement. Among graver matters he notes: 'Priests scandalize the people much by cock fighting. I have been several times told of priests taking their cocks into the sacristy, hurrying disrespectfully through their mass and going straight off from the altar to the cock pit. They are great gamblers.'" And there were "graver matters."

(2) John R. Spears in the New York *Sun:*

The common charge among foreigners that they (the priests) are licentious ought to be taken up first of all. Some facts were related to me showing that their notions of morality differ from the notions entertained by preachers in the United States. At David, in the Isthmus of Panama, the people told me their priest was to be deposed because he was attentive to too many women. . . . When I asked if it was merely a question of his taking liberties with "too many," the reply was in the affirmative. I saw for myself in various towns, beginning at Santiago de Veraguas, that the priests usually had housekeepers who were handsome women, and that there were children in the houses who called the housekeeper mother, although the woman was said to be neither a widow nor a wife. In Alajuela, Costa Rica, a photographer from California, who said he was a faithful member of the Church, came to me especially to ask that I would expose the condition of affairs there. The priest, he said, made no pretence of denying the paternity of his children. The Californian was plainly shocked by such a condition of affairs.

At a little town where I remained over night on my way

[1] 125.

from Punta Arenas, Costa Rica, to San Jose, the landlady was very indignant because the village priest had performed a marriage ceremony for a man who wanted to wed a woman who had been married by civil process to another man from whom she had but recently parted. There had been no divorce. The priest said the civil marriage was not binding. Not to multiply instances of this kind, it is likely that no one will deny that a majority of the priests of the Spanish Main hold their pledge of sexual purity very lightly. I asked the Alajuela photographer if the conduct of the priest there had had the effect of leading the women to make merchandise of themselves, and he replied that it had not, but it had led to very many unions without either a civil or a religious marriage ceremony. And that, I am sure, is the effect throughout the Spanish Main. In fact, I believe that it has led the people very close to a mental condition where they regard the marriage service as a form only.

(3) Frederick Palmer in "Central America," on conditions such as prevail there:

Only satire would call Central America Christian to-day. Once it was Christian, but now its masses are lapsing into paganism, even as the Haitian negroes have lapsed into African voodooism. . . .

In Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua the priesthood has fallen into the lowest state of any countries in Christendom not in the Caribbean region. The bayonet no longer considers it as a factor to be reckoned with. It has neither political power nor religious power of any account. . . . In morals the people have the examples of their leaders. . . . Some of the mountain tribes have never been civilized, though they are within three days of New Orleans, and they are better off than the ones who were Christians and have lapsed into paganism.[1]

(4) Lea's "History of Sacerdotal Celibacy":

In spite of the Nicæan canon, on which the rule of celibacy has virtually rested, the Church, after a struggle of more than a thousand years, was forced to admit the "subintro-

[1] 269–272.

ducta mulier" as an inmate of the priest's domicile. The order of Nature on this point refused so obstinately to be set aside that the Council of Trent finally recognized women as a necessary evil, and only sought to regulate the necessity by forbidding those in holy orders from keeping in their houses or maintaining any relations with concubines or women liable to suspicion. . . .

The careful provisions as to the age and character of these "Marthas," and the prohibition of manifestations of undue familiarity with them—especially in public—are scrupulously enumerated in the latest assembly of Catholic prelates, the Plenary Council of Latin America held in Rome in 1899.[1] These precautions are not uncalled for if there is truth in the statement that statistics submitted to the council showed that in Latin America, of 18,000 priests 3,000 were living in regular wedlock, 4,000 in concubinage with their so-called housekeepers, and some 1,500 in relations more or less open with women of doubtful reputation.[2]

(5) Juan Bautista Castro, Archbishop of Caracas and Venezuela, in a pastoral letter published in full in a leading newspaper of Caracas, which introduces the letter with the remark: "We have always thought that priests, as men, have their weaknesses, paying thus their tribute to Mother Nature, and to-day the most illustrious Lord Archbishop has taken upon himself to ratify our beliefs:"

The clergy have fallen into profound contempt because of events which have placed them on the declivity which leads to all manner of failure. There are no calls for the clergy, and this contempt for them, so general, is one cause for this lack. Impotence, sterility, decadence, moral and spiritual—all these, accompanied by the strident and persecuting words of our adversaries—these form the true and striking picture presented to all who deign for a moment to contemplate it. . . .

We have spoken much of the persecutions of which the

[1] A. & D. Conc. Pl. Am. Lat. 281.
[2] Macmillan, 1907, Vol. II, 341.

work of Jesus Christ has been the victim in our land—but we speak very little or not at all of our sins, and, more particularly, of the sins of the clergy. . . .

Scandal in the parish or town takes on unmeasured proportions: the dishonored priest is lost once for all, the enemies of the Church triumph because of the shameful fall, and good souls retire to groan in secret and to cry to the Lord to free them from this abomination. . . . And even if the sin is hidden, yet is it revealed through every guise in the dead parish, the deserted church, in the tiresome preaching, unfruitful works of mere routine, without fervor or piety, in the house of the priest, who breathes only a worldly atmosphere, in his reading, in his occupations and the tedium at the things of God. Why do we note the sudden spiritual decline of a priest who until yesterday was active and devout? Why do we see him destroying little by little that which promised to be a fruitful apostolate, but now approaches mysterious and mournful ruin? Ah! if we could penetrate the veil of his secret life, we should know that the one cause of this humiliating and opprobrious decay is in nothing other than the hidden corruption of his heart and life. . . . And yet there are priests who only rarely go to confession, and others who never confess at all! There are those who select easy-going confessors who pass over everything and then give absolution; and there are not wanting others whose confession is nothing more than a sad routine practised between one sin and another, to their own deception—well known is the life they lead, and where it will end. . . .

Nearly all the clergy of the archdiocese of Caracas is parochial; there are more than one hundred parishes, and to-day all are occupied by pastors, with few exceptions—those which have become mere hamlets. And yet, why does ignorance of religion continue to brutalize and degrade more and more these people? Why exist so many parishes which are true cemeteries of souls dead to God, in despite of the fact that there stands the church edifice, there is Jesus Christ in the Sacrament Adorable, there is the priest with his marvelous powers to sanctify the souls? . . . The only reason is that the parish priest does not faithfully perform his duties, he does not lay hold upon and generously shoulder

the charge he has accepted, and, as many Christians who take of the Gospel only so much as suits them, so he takes up only those duties which do not trouble him much—more than all, those that produce most income. They do not preach, or, if so, it is only to tire and annoy the few hearers. What living word could come from a sacerdotal soul dead to the palpitations of the grace and the activity of pastoral zeal? There is no catechism class—and if there is, it is in this sense: that this work is for the priest a disagreeable task, for which he has neither intelligence nor heart, and which he ends by handing it over to the school or to the women! Service, attention and care and frequent visiting of the sick, in order to lead them as by the hand to the gates of eternity, is an unknown thing to him. Poor sick ones that fall into the hands of such priests! And this, when they do not abandon the sufferers entirely under any mere pretext to escape going to their aid in their extremity supreme. . . . And we will not say more, for we should be interminable, if we were to enumerate everything. . . .

We have now completed a grave duty; we have said what was necessary in view of the spiritual disasters which here and there too often appear in our clergy; we feel the relief of one who has lightened his shoulders of a heavy load; this load was the necessity of pointing out the sins which undermine our Church and weaken the power of the priesthood. Easily may our words meet with hardness and blindness, which form the most formidable judgment that God exercises, even in this world, against the priest who goes astray; we have thought this over well, and our prayer before the Lord has been intense and prolonged that He would penetrate this darkness with His light, and that where sin has long abounded, grace may much more abound to salvation.[1]

(6) *El Mercurio,* the leading newspaper in Chile, and a clerical organ, in an article entitled "Peruvian or Chilean Clergy," after praising the character and influence of the Chilean clergy, proceeds to assert that "not in one case but in many, the Peruvian priests have committed crimes of public scandal and

[1] *El Constitucional,* December 7, 1908.

have given the inhabitants of that province (Tacna) disgraceful scenes!" It calls them "notoriously immoral," declares that "the scandals of the Peruvian priests have been proven and documented" and asks, "Should we prefer the clergy of bad conduct which that same bishop (of Arequipa) has kept in Tacna and which is the only cause of the deep moral decadence of the people in that province—that clergy which keeps the inhabitants of the interior in a semi-savage state, who entirely neglect their ministerial work?"[1] There is a political bias here, but whatever competence Roman Catholics allow to *El Mercurio's* judgment of priests must attach to its judgment on Peruvians as well as on Chileans

(7) S. R. Gammon in "The Evangelical Invasion of Brazil:"

> When those who should be the moral guides and examples of the people are men of depraved lives, men of unblushing immorality, this example of moral turpitude must react powerfully on the lives of the people themselves. Much has been said and written of the corruption of the Romish priests in South American countries, and the phrase "as immoral as a Brazilian priest" may be found in European literature, as though these were more proverbially depraved. They probably do not merit this distinction as compared with the priests of other Latin American countries, but surely the state of things among them is bad enough. Concubinage, open and unblushing, is common among them; and refined sensibilities are shocked at the bare suggestion of the half of the sad story of moral depravity. Celibacy and the confessional have dragged the priesthood into depths of iniquity that are inconceivable, and along with themselves they drag down to their level thousands of victims. The following passage from Señor Barbosa's pen, is most delicately put, but it suggests plainly what it would require volumes to narrate in full detail: "The most formidable theater for the

[1] Issue of March 6, 1910.

mission of a Jesuit is the family. The wife and the child easily fall into the hands of the priest, and, as happens in all Roman Catholic countries, the domestic priesthood of the father is entirely lost. How many heart-breaking sorrows are hidden from curious eyes under the domestic roof, calamities that embitter the noblest affections, destroy all lawful rights, and incapacitate so many souls. How many of these calamities, endured in silence and carefully hidden from the public gaze, have left in our lives deep and painful furrows. . . . Confidence, which is the necessary privilege of the husband, the essential bond of union between two souls, is shared with the confessor, or rather, is entirely usurped by him." . . .

Many of the superiors do not want the evils remedied, because they are part and parcel of the corruption; many others, who would correct abuses, cannot do so, because the application of discipline would leave their dioceses without parish priests to administer the sacraments and attend to the necessary ecclesiastical functions. To such an extent has the evil grown, that probably not one priest in ten would be left, were discipline applied to all who habitually offend against the most fundamental rules of moral purity.[1]

(8) Charles M. Pepper, special agent of the United States Government, of conditions in Cuba, which were the same as in the rest of Latin America:

In Cuba, as in Spain, the Church was against civil reforms and freedom of worship. It is the general testimony that the Church fees for marriage, baptism, and burials were mercilessly exacted. The people paid tribute from the cradle to the grave. The Spanish priesthood in Cuba as a class personified ignorance, cupidity, and indifference to their holy office. This is a harsh judgment. It has been pronounced in calmness and sorrow by Catholic observers.[2]

[1] 82–84.

[2] Quoted by Grose, "Advance in the Antilles," 100.

# NOTE TO CHAPTER V

*Alleged correspondence between the Vatican and the Archbishop of Santiago de Chile.*

In a Chilean newspaper, *La Lei,* which at first was regarded as one of the ablest and best radical newspapers in Chile, but which subsequently deteriorated and finally died, there appeared on October 24, 1897, a long letter purporting to be "addressed by order of his holiness Pope Leo XIII to the prelates of Chile." It contained a terrible arraignment of the Archbishop and the Chilean clergy generally. On December 5, 1897, the same paper published what purported to be the Archbishop's reply, issued under his seal. Extracts from these letters were given a wide publicity in magazines in Germany, England and the United States, and a paragraph from the alleged letter of the Pope was printed in Young's book, "From Cape Horn to Panama" (1900),[1] and subsequently in Beach's "Geography and Atlas of Protestant Missions" (1901),[2] "Protestant Missions in South America" (1900),[3] Clark's "A Continent of Opportunity" (1907),[4] and Neely's "South America, its Missionary Problems" (1909).[5] This paragraph and the letter from which it was taken, though published far and wide, seem never to have been called in question until they were quoted in an address on South America by the author of this book at the Student Volunteer

[1] 91f. [2] 126. [3] 205.
[4] 333. [5] 136–137.

Movement Convention in Rochester in 1909–10. The letter was then declared to be fraudulent. *El Mercurio,* the leading present day newspaper in Chile, reproduced it and pronounced it a fraud.[1] The Secretary of the Archbishop of Chile certified that such a communication had never been received.[2] And the Protestant missionaries in Chile came to the conclusion that the letter had been a fabrication of *La Lei,* and one of them suggested that the name of the paper might justly have been changed to *La Lie.*

Dr. Webster E. Browning, of Santiago, at my request, made a thorough investigation and at last discovered the author. Under date of December 16, 1911, Dr. Browning writes:

> For a year or more I have been working on the matter, but have not been able to bring it to a conclusion until to-day. I first went to a member of Congress whom I have known for a number of years and told him of the letters published in the *Lei,* and of the trouble caused by their quotation in the United States. He heard me through and then, with a laugh, said: "Those letters were not authentic." I replied that the Secretary of the Archbishop and others had told me the same thing, but that I would be glad if he could put me in the way of proving, beyond a doubt, that his statement was true. After some hesitation he gave me the name of another gentleman, also a member of the Radical party, who, he said, was the author of the letters. I called at once on this gentleman and stated the case to him, and, without a word, he arose, went to his safe, unlocked it, and brought out a book of clippings of his articles contributed to the Press since 1878. He at once turned to the two articles,—the pseudo letter of the Pope and the reply of the Archbishop and stated that he had written them both, at the suggestion of one of the leaders of the Radical party. He said that he had no idea that they would ever be quoted

[1] *Literary Digest,* July 2, 1910, 19.
[2] *America,* June 18, 1910, 252.

outside of Chile, and I told him how they had been published, or quoted, in both London and New York. This he seemed to take as a compliment to his ability in forging the documents and laughed at the whole matter as a huge joke.

I asked him if there had ever been any basis for such letters,—if any such correspondence had ever passed between the Vatican and the clergy of Chile, and he said that absolutely nothing, so far as he knew, had ever been written.

The whole matter, then, it seems, is boiled down to this fact: the gentleman in question, who has asked me to reserve his name, wrote the letters "as a diversion," to quote his own words, not expecting that they would be quoted outside of his own country. He has written these and other such letters under a *nom de plume,* and only a very few know of his authorship,—one of these men being, as I suspected, the first man on whom I called this morning. Although all the other members of his family are Conservatives, as he told me, he is a Radical and attacks the Church,—or did, in his younger days,—in this way, under an assumed name. He is a lawyer, well-to-do I should say, and had no hesitancy whatever in assuming the responsibility of the authorship of the letters. He said that for a while he was known among his cronies of that time as "Rampolla," in honor of his skill in writing the letters. He also stated that these letters were the cause of the Archbishop's excommunicating *La Lei,* a fact that tremendously increased the circulation of the paper and gave it ten years of life whereas, otherwise, it would probably have died much sooner. At his request I keep his name secret, but you are authorized to use my letter and statements as you think best.

The author of the letters claims that the statements are all true, even to-day.

It is both strange and lamentable that such a publication should have gone so long unchallenged and have been allowed so general a circulation. There is need of a far-reaching purging of the priesthood of the Roman Church in South America, as has already appeared and is acknowledged by candid Roman Catholics, and the fact that these documents were fab-

ricated does not affect one way or the other the truth about conditions in South America; but these conditions will not be improved by untruths, and everyone will gladly dismiss from his mind this alleged bit of evidence and regret its circulation. It has, however, these lessons. It shows the possibility of South American newspaper invention to be not inferior to the worst in North America. It shows the bitterness of the radical opposition to the Roman Church, and the criticisms which are rife against the Church. And it shows also that even this radicalism credited Leo XIII with the will to rectify the abuses which it charged to the Chilean priesthood and with a purpose to purify the life of the Church in South America.

# CHAPTER VI

## PRESENT RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS
(*Continued*)

But there are other conditions than those already considered for which the Roman Church assumes responsibility by virtue of its claim of South America as a Roman Catholic continent.

5. The great mass of the South American people have not been given Christianity. They do not know what Christ taught or what the New Testament represents the Gospel to be. There are surely some who find peace and comfort and some who see Christ through all that hides Him and misrepresents Him, but the testimony of the most temperate and open-minded of the men and women who were once themselves earnest Roman Catholics is that there are few whom they know in the Roman Catholic Church who know the facts of Christ's life and fewer still who know Christ. The very crucifixes of which South America is full misrepresent the Gospel. They show a dead man, not a living Saviour. South American Christianity knows nothing of the resurrection and of that which signifies life. We did not see in all the churches we visited a single picture, symbol or suggestion of the resurrection or the ascension. There were hundreds of paintings of saints and of the Holy Family and of Mary, but not one of the supreme event in

Christianity. And even the representations of the death of Christ are false. Some of the figures are too terrible for description, and their whole significance is untrue to the Gospel. And even the dead Christ is the subordinate figure. The central place is Mary's. Often she is shown holding a small lacerated dead figure in her lap, and often she is the only person represented at all. In the great La Merced church in Lima, over the chancel is the motto: "Gloria a Maria." In the oldest church in Barranquilla, there is no figure of Christ at all in the altar equipment, but Mary without the infant in the centre, two other figures on either side, and over all "Gloria a Maria." In the wall of the ancient Jesuit Church in Cuzco known as the Church of the Campania, are cut the words, "Come unto Mary all ye who are burdened and weary with your sins and she will give you rest." Over the figure of Mary in the wretched central church in Curityba, where Mary stands above four inferior figures of Mary, Joseph, John the Baptist, and Jesus, is the inscription, "Intercede pro nobis." This supremacy of Mary is not in church art alone. It is the practical religion of the land. When, on Good Friday morning, 1909, the two processions bearing the images of Mary and Jesus moved out of the Church of San Nicola in Barranquilla and in the opposite directions about the plaza, the multitude followed the figure of Mary and the figure of the Saviour was deserted. Mary is the central religious person. She, as Bishop Romero declared in the Argentine Congress on December 31, 1901, "for all Catholics is the centre of piety and virtue in the family circle." Mary, not Christ. And Mariolatry is the religion of the land because the Church has taught it as true Christianity.

We might quote from the "Catechism of Christian Doctrine by Canon José Ramon Saavedra, approved by the University of Chile as a text-book for teaching in the schools and ordered to be so used by the Supreme Government. Ninth Edition. Santiago, 1881." But it will suffice to say that the popular religion of South America accepts the view of Mary which is set forth in St. Alphonsus Liguori's "The Glories of Mary," in which we read:

And if Jesus is the King of the universe, Mary is also its Queen, and as Queen she possesses, by right, the whole kingdom of her Son. Hence as many creatures as there are who serve God, so many they are who serve Mary: for as angels and men, and all things that are in heaven and on earth, are subject to the empire of God, so are they also under the dominion of Mary!

The obedience of Mary offset the evil wrought by the disobedience of Eve, and thus the human race, accursed through the first woman, was saved through the Virgin and won back from the powers of darkness and death to be given to grace and life. . . .

Our Redemption is her mission, for she has been divinely appointed to intercede for us at the throne of grace. . . .

Thou, my Mother, hast enamored a God with thy beauty, and drawn him from heaven into thy chaste womb; and shall I live without loving thee? . . .

If Mary undertakes our defence, we are certain of gaining the kingdom of heaven. *This do, and thou shalt live.* . . .

O compassionate Mother, most sacred Virgin, behold me at thy feet! If thou protectest me, what can I fear? I only fear lest, in my temptations and by my own fault, I may cease to recommend myself to thee and thus be lost. But I now promise thee that I will always have recourse to thee. O, help me to fulfil my promise. Lose not the opportunity which now presents itself of gratifying thy ardent desire to succor such poor wretches as myself. In thee, O Mother of God, I have unbounded confidence. From thee I hope for grace to bewail my sins as I ought, and from thee I hope for strength never again to fall into them. If I am sick,

thou, O celestial physician, canst heal me. If my sins have weakened me, thy help will strengthen me. O Mary, I hope all from thee; for thou art all-powerful with God. Amen.[1]

It is not necessary to detail the multitude of pagan superstitions with which the religion of South America is encumbered. It is enough to point out that the Church in South America does not preach Christ crucified and risen again. It preaches Mary, whom it proclaims from the lips of thousands of unfaithful priests to be of immaculate conception and of perpetual virginity. The doctrines of the immaculate conception and the perpetual virginity should be preached by a virgin priesthood. Untrue in themselves, they are doubly false and can minister only to falsehood when preached by false men. And these men the people of Latin America are taught to consider as "gods on earth." This is the statement given us by a missionary, from the catechism of D. Santiago José Garcia Mazo, approved by the Church and widely read in Latin America: "The Son of God is reincarnated in the hands of the priest as though they were another womb of the Virgin. The priest by virtue of the words of consecration makes Christ to exist upon the altar and he becomes as the father of the Lord and the husband of His most holy Mother. As Christians with veneration and respect ought we to acknowledge them entrusted of God: these visible gods who represent to us the invisible, these gods on earth who at times make the God of heaven." Doubtless some men really believe this doctrine, but it is by such untruth and misrepresentation as well as by deliberate deception that the South American Church has not only not taught Christianity but has directly fostered deception

[1] Edition, New York, 1902, 10; 28–29; 38; 53; 54–55.

and untruth of character. "My complaint against the Church," said one of the oldest missionaries, who maintains cordial relations with some of its institutions and its representatives, "is not a matter of any particular doctrine or doctrines, but of the general influence of the Church in breaking down conscience and the sense of individual responsibility to God. The Church steps in at every stage of a man's life and does all a man's dealing with God. The result is that there is left no personal moral initiative or duty. And then I complain also because it has made no protest against immorality. With pulpits all over South America it has raised no voice against vice and sin." "You ask about this nation and the Roman Catholic Church," said the American Minister in one South American capital. "Well, the nation is rotten, thanks to the Church and to Spain. The Church has taught lies and uncleanness and been the bulwark of injustice and wrong for three hundred years. How could you expect anything else?" "Yes," added an English merchant who had lived for years in the country, "and the people are sick of it, and ready to break away. I know the strong men of the country, and they despise it, and will sometime sweep it out of the land, but it still holds the women." What there is to be said for the view that South America is sick of her religious system we shall consider presently. It is enough to point out now that the system is deliberately deceitful. "Lies," said a priest to a friend who told the remark to us, "what do lies have to do with religion?" Therefore in the catechism which has been quoted and also in José Deharbé's Catechism prepared for use in the Spanish-American countries and published with the approval of many Archbishops and bishops in Chile,

Argentine, Mexico and Spain, the Church deliberately deceives with reference to the Ten Commandments, entirely omitting the second and dividing the tenth in order to make the requisite number. Can a Church which deceives the people teach them true religion? Is the preaching of Mary the preaching of Christ? Are falsehood and Mariolatry an adequate reason for withholding truth and Christ from South America?

6. Religion is still in South America entangled with politics. That the Church which for centuries had full and exclusive control of religion and education and was also the greatest political power, should find difficulty in adjusting itself to the new order of religious toleration, involving in some lands practical disestablishment and in every land a great curtailment of its authority, was perfectly natural. That the South American nations which were as Roman in religion as they were Spanish in government should find it harder to give up the former than the latter characteristic was also perfectly natural. That nations where the entire population had been nominally Roman Catholic should retain that religion as the recognized and State religion —this, too, was perfectly natural. And we must make all allowance for these things, but none the less perilous and injurious both to religion and to political liberty is the doctrine which, as we have already seen, dominates the attitude of the Roman Church toward religious liberty and free political institutions. It is desired to confine this statement strictly to the situation in South America, but it is necessary to quote some principles declared elsewhere, because they have been steadily proclaimed as the Church's doctrine in South America:

To depose kings and emperors is as much a right as to excommunicate individuals and to lay kingdoms under an interdict. These are no derived or delegated rights but are of the essence of that Royal authority of Christ with which His Viceregents on earth are vested.[1]

The Catholic Dictionary, 1893, under the imprimatur of Cardinal Vaughan, cites the celebrated Unum Sanctum (1303). "The temporal authority must be subject to the spiritual power."

The principle (of liberty of conscience) is one which is not and never has been and never will be approved by the Church of Christ.[2]

It would have been a kind of ingratitude and treachery, to Jesus Christ Himself—we may almost say it would have exhibited the implicit spirit of apostasy—had the hideousness of Sectarianism been permitted (in the Dark Ages) to sully the fair form of Catholic unity, had heresy been permitted to poison the pure air of Catholic truth. . . . So far is any apology from being needed for the then existent intolerance of heretics that, on the contrary, an apology would be now needed for the Medieval Church—and would indeed not be very easily forthcoming—had she tolerated the neglect of intolerance. . . . And we need hardly add—though we will not dwell on this—that the same principle which applied to Medieval Europe, applies in its measure to any contemporary country, such as Spain, in which Catholicity has still entire possession of the national mind.[3]

If to-morrow the Spanish Government, as advised by the Catholic Church, were to see that a greater evil would ensue from granting religious liberty than from refusing it, then it would have a perfect right to refuse it. Of course, the Protestant Press would teem with charges of intolerance and we should reply, Toleration to Protestants is intoleration to Catholics.[4]

[1] Cardinal Manning, "Essays on Religion as Literature," second series, 417.

[2] E. J. O. Reilly, S. J., "The Relation of the Church to Society," iii, 273.

[3] *Dublin Review*, January, 1877, 39.

[4] W. C. Robinson, who was made a Monsignor by Leo XIII, "Liberty of Conscience," 22.

The Church in South America has acted on these principles. Some of the great leaders in the emancipation of the South American republics were priests, but the Church in South America has resisted every advance proposed by the spirit of political freedom. The conservative party is everywhere the clerical party. Everywhere the clerical party has obstructed education and industrial progress. It has fought civil marriage, religious toleration and the freedom of the press. It has prompted the revolutions against the party of constitutional liberty and human equality. In Peru it is charged that it has instigated every such revolt against the order and advancement of the nation. It wrecked Colombia when that country was enjoying unprecedented prosperity and owned a good dollar. Its dollar is not now worth one cent. This most clerically dominated land in South America is one of the most backward in education, has a worthless currency, and with the richest resources suffers the direst poverty. Where the states have broken away from the domination of the Church and adopted equal laws, the Church still resists and shows its disloyalty. In Parana in 1909 a public mob in Florianopolis went to the Bishop to protest against the conduct of a priest who would not allow the services in memory of the late President Penña, of Brazil, who had died on June 14, 1909, to be held in his church at Florianopolis because the national flag was displayed. This he held was the symbol of a secular and illegitimate agency, not to be recognized by the Church because of its enactment of a civil marriage law and its freedom from Rome. In Rio likewise a priest would not allow a soldier's body to be brought into the church because the national flag was over the cof-

fin. The Bishop of Parana in the Argentine is said to have repudiated in a similar way the flag of the Argentine Republic.

The idea of tolerance or of equal recognition is a difficult idea to the South American Church. The speech of Bishop Romero in the Argentine National Congress in January, 1902, opposing a subsidy voted by Congress to the Rev. William C. Morris for the "Argentine Evangelical Schools," the remarkable work developed by Mr. Morris for the education of thousands of neglected children in Buenos Aires, illustrates this difficulty. The bishop rested his opposition to the grant on the flat declaration:

"Mr. President, I believe that according to our present constitution, it is not possible to favor the development of Protestant worship in the Argentine Republic. . . . And I say, Mr. President, that in loyalty to the constitution it is not possible to support and spread the Protestant worship, for it is an indisputable principle that when the fundamental law of a country commands that a certain institution be sustained, it implicitly establishes the prohibition to sustain or support the institutions of an opposite character; and between the *Catholic and the Protestant religions there exists a diametrical opposition.* The duty of the State being therefore to sustain the Catholic worship, it may not support in any way whatever an institution contrary to that worship."

We call the United States a Protestant land. In an even stronger sense the South American colonies were Roman Catholic lands. We can understand the slow progress among them of ideas of religious toleration, and the tenacity of the traditional Roman Catholic confusion of Church and State. But the con-

fusion has been injurious to both, and its perpetuation is a constant menace to South American liberties.

No one is able to speak more authoritatively upon the attitude of the South American religious system to political liberty than Ruy Barbosa, the leading South American representative at the last Hague Conference and one of the most conspicuous candidates for the presidency of Brazil after Penña's death. In a long introduction to a book entitled "Janus" he wrote of what he knew in Brazil:

> Romanism is not a religion, but a political organization, and that, too, the most vicious, the most unscrupulous, and the most destructive of all political systems. . . . If Jesuitism is a perpetual conspiracy against the peace that has for its basis liberty and parliamentary institutions, it is only because the infallible pope hates all modern constitutions, as being in their very nature incompatible with the temporal power of the clergy. . . . [The Jesuit order is] the wisest work of darkness which the perversion of Christian morality could desire. . . . If the Bishop is systematically rebellious against constitutional authority, if he is a despot with his own subjects in the religious domain, and at the same time insubordinate to the civil law, it is because he is really the subject of the Romish hierarchy and because Rome's rule of action has ever been her purpose to enslave the individual conscience of the clergy and control the temporal power of the Church. If the monks are the propagators of fanaticism, the debasers of Christian morals, it is because the history of papal influence for many centuries has been nothing more nor less than the story of the dissemination of a new paganism as full of superstition and of all unrighteousness as the mythology of the ancients—a new paganism organized at the expense of evangelical traditions, shamelessly falsified and travestied by the Romanists. . . . The Romish Church in all ages has been a power religious scarcely in name, but always inherently, essentially and untiringly a political power.

These are Ruy Barbosa's words. We could not write them and we quote them solely with reference

to South America. The South American Church embodies this attitude. In so far as this attitude misrepresents Christianity and antagonizes the movement of the spirit of freedom in South America we dare not deliver South America over to it.

7. The Strength and Weakness of the Roman Church in South America. The Roman Church is both very strong and very weak in South America. The priesthood has a powerful hold upon the superstition of the people. As we rode along one day in Brazil in a drizzling rain with bare heads and rubber ponchos, an old woman came running solicitously from her hovel, mistaking us for priests and crying, "O most powerful God, where is your hat?" To the people the priest stands in the place of God, and even where his own life is vile the people distinguish between his function as priest, in which he stands as God before the altar, and his life as man, in which he falls into the frailties of the flesh. Not only is the priesthood the most influential body in South America, but the Church has a hold upon politics and family life and society which is paralyzing. In Quito, Ecuador, alone, for example, "there are six monasteries, seven convents, ten seminaries, seven parochial churches, fifteen conventual churches, a cathedral, a basilica, and thirteen chapels, covering nearly one-fourth of the area of the city. The Franciscan monastery, which covers several acres, is said to be the largest in the world." [1] And all this is in a city of about 50,000 population, A few years ago, before the upheaval in Ecuador, it was said that there was a Roman Catholic church for every 150 inhabitants; "that ten per cent of the entire population was either priests, monks, or

[1] "Ecuador, 1909," 15.

nuns, and that about seventy-five per cent of the population of Ecuador was absolutely illiterate." [1] The evil of the Church is not weak and harmless but pervasive and deadly, and the Christian Church is called by the most mandatory sanctions to deal with the situation.

But on the other hand, the Roman Catholic Church does not have a fraction of the strength and power in South America which it is supposed to have, and the inefficiency of its work is pitiful. With enormous resources, with all the lines of power in its hands, it has steadily lost ground. Here and there there have been galvanic revivals worked by the ecclesiastics who have poured in from Europe and of whom some are capable and some devout men, but the Church is decrepit, without spiritual leadership, destitute of missionary zeal, with no ingenuity of method, and weak and sick. How sad the conditions are and how earnestly the best men deplore the situation we learned from a statement of some priests whom we met in Buenos Aires. I went to see them with Mr. Dougherty of the American Lutheran Church, who had been sent from Philadelphia to look after the Lutheran Scandinavians in Buenos Aires and who had been doing so, but whose heart had been stirred by the need of religious work in Spanish among the religiously destitute people of the Argentine and who could not in conscience leave Buenos Aires with its ten Protestant churches and go back to Philadelphia with its six hundred and ninety. Mr. Dougherty had sought for some priests who were truly and intelligently interested in the spiritual welfare of the people and had found a small company of

[1] Lee, "Religious Liberty in South America," 180, quoting Curtis, "Between the Andes and the Ocean," 61, 87.

them. This was the substance of what one of them said:

The need in this country is very great and our Church is very weak. There are only eight bishops where there ought to be twelve or fifteen. We are held up by our connection with the State, which has the right of appointment of the bishops, and the President has not appointed the others whom we so sadly need. I regard this connection with the State as a great evil. We have no such liberty, no such respect here for the Church and its priesthood, no such power and influence as a Church as you have in the United States, where the Churches are all free from connection with the State. The Argentinos are a wide-awake progressive people, and in the provinces they are not irreligious, but here in the city, which has one-fifth of the population of the country, they are utterly irreligious. The foreign element has drifted away from the Church. It never knew a free connection with a free Church, and when it found that here the priests had no such power over them as in Europe, it abandoned the Church entirely. In our parish here of 120,000, only eight per cent go to church. Then the forces of the Church are inadequate. In the whole of the Argentine there are only between 500 and 1,000 priests, counting the secular priests, too, and this in a population of 5,000,000. In the city of Rosario there are seventeen priests to 140,000 people. Here in Buenos Aires there is a parish of 130,000 with but one priest and two assistants. In the United States such a parish would be almost enough for a bishopric. About three out of ten of the priests are native Argentinos. I do not think that they are to be blamed for the bad condition of the Church. There have been, I think, only three scandals since I came in 1893. But the great mass of the people have no religion, or if they do they do not practice it. The great need is for preaching the Gospel, but alas, most of the priests have never done any preaching and do not know how. The Italian and Spanish priests especially just go from church to church saying masses. We call them changadors (i. e., porters). And it is terrible to see the way the priests are despised and reviled and hated here. We cannot go out from house to house or even take a religious census in the homes of our parish. The people insult and scorn us so. You cannot

imagine how different it is from the United States, where religion is respected and the priests are honored. Here it is bad luck to see a priest, and if even high-class ladies pass one they run to touch iron to break the bad luck. Our body has asked the Pope to let us wear ordinary clothes and to put aside our priests' dress so that we can reach the people. The people here do not support the Church as they do in the United States. They do not attend mass. When they do they are disorderly and you would never know it was church, and even at times of death they will not send for the priest or will do so only at the last unconscious moments. Another great need besides preaching is for schools, but the Church has none, only a few poor Sunday Schools. We have no money for them. In the United States the priests have plenty of support for their work, from pew rents, weekly offerings, special feast-day offerings and wedding fees, usually $20.00, baptisms from $5.00 to $20.00 and funerals. The weekly offerings are usually enough to support the priest and he has plenty for schools. But here we have none of these things except the fee for funerals and masses, and usually only two dollars or so for masses. The people will go unmarried rather than pay the priest, though they will pay great sums on funeral displays. The need of asking for money for funerals and marriages puts our priests here in a bad light and makes them the more unpopular. The neglect of church marriages gets things into a bad condition and often we organize missions just to go about and straighten out marriage relations and perform the ceremony free. The truth is that the great mass of the people have no religion and that the conditions are truly pitiful. Should there be Protestant churches here? Why not? The churches are all in the United States together and get along very well. I do not see why they should not be here also.

"I think," added another priest who had come in, "that things have improved some during the fifteen years since I came. More young men come now than did then. The people are shrewd and thrifty and not generous. There is no common stock but the type is something more than a composite. It has no respect

for the authority of the Church. We need our own schools. We can go into the public schools and teach religion, but only out of school hours and the children will not stay for it." These men were good and earnest men. Whoever thinks that there are not good men among the priests should meet such men. One's heart goes out to them in their hard and despised mission, inherited from the priesthood which has been the curse of South America and to which some people tell us we should leave it. As we rose to go they invited us to go into their church with them. It was a simple and attractive Gothic church which they said had been designed by a Protestant architect. On the altar in the chancel was a simple little cross, not a crucifix, though a crucifix stood off at one side. Over the cross was a good painting of the Agony in Gethsemane. The two Fathers took us into the church and about the church and bade us good-bye at the door. They are trying to do by evangelistic work, by constant preaching and by true lives what it were well if the true men in the Roman Catholic Church and in all Churches would do without more delay for South America. Their view of the situation, while confined to Argentina is increasingly true of all South America.

The Church is weak and ineffective. The church buildings are often ill kept and in ill repair. Some of them are kept so purposely as a leverage for raising funds, but the very device is itself a confession of weakness. The population is inadequately looked after. In the cities there are convents full of priests and sisters, but in the country there are large sections wholly uncared for. In many towns there is small provision and even in large cities there are districts left to one church and its priest for which it is impos-

sible for him to care. In 1904 Bishop Kinsolving of the American Protestant Episcopal Mission in Brazil, stated that a Roman priest had told him that there were hardly more than a dozen churches in the state of Rio Grande do Sul where at that time mass was said on the Lord's Day.[1] In 1895, there were only 1,019 churches in the entire Argentine Republic.

Even the attendance upon the churches we found to be far less than we had anticipated. There were few crowded churches. We saw only two which had more than four hundred people in them. We went to the cathedral service in great Roman Catholic cities like La Paz and Arequipa, and though there were bishops or high ecclesiastics and elaborate processions, there were small handfuls of worshippers. Arequipa was said to be one of the most fanatical cities in Peru, where the Church still held the loyalty of the men. We attended five churches there on the great feast of the Virgin Mary's birthday. There were not 150 men at any of the services, at most of them there were not fifty, and not more than 300 or 400 women. It was a week day and all the shops were as much closed as they would be on Sunday, but the people were not in the churches. In Holy Week there are great demonstrations and on special occasions some churches will be thronged and sometimes with men, and there are cities where the churches are largely attended, but I do not believe the Roman Catholics of South America attend church with anything like the fidelity of Protestants or Roman Catholics in the United States. There was not one city or town where we spent a Sunday where the total attendance at church would have equalled, I do not believe it would have amounted

[1] *The Sun*, New York, April 12, 1904.

to one-half, perhaps not to one-quarter, the church attendance that same day in any American community of the same size.

Mr. Isaacson writes of Brazil in "Rome in Many Lands":[1] "Of the one-fifth (?) who are educated only the smallest proportion adhere to any form of religion whatever. Statesmen, lawyers, physicians, army and navy officials have almost to a man rejected the historic Christ, and have turned to infidelity and Positivism. In one city with a population of 35,000 after careful investigation less than 200 could be found in full communion with the Roman Church." He quotes the Catholic Bishop of São Paulo, saying in an official paper: "Brazil has no longer any faith. Religion is almost extinct here."[2] Father Sherman, a son of Gen. W. T. Sherman, made the same report about Porto Rico. He went to that island as a Roman Catholic chaplain with the American army and wrote to a Roman Catholic journal: "Porto Rico is a Catholic country without religion. The clergy do not seem to have any hold of the native people."[3] To General Brooke, he reported: "Now that the priests are deprived of government aid many are leaving the country. The Church has been so united with the State and so identified with it, in the eyes of the people, that it must share the odium with which Spanish rule is commonly regarded. The sacrament of confirmation has not been administered for many years in a great part of the island. Religion is dead on the island."[4] Father Sherman would have

[1] 160.

[2] McCabe, "The Decay of the Church of Rome," footnote, 109f.

[3] *The Messenger of the Sacred Heart,* December, 1898, Art. "A Month in Porto Rico," quoted in *The Converted Catholic,* January, 1899.

[4] Grose, "Advance in the Antilles," 196.

to make the same report on most of the South American countries.

Even if the South American system were Christian, it is preposterous to speak of it as occupying the field or meeting the religious needs of the country.

Within recent years, as has been already suggested, the Roman Church has been giving the keenest attention to South America. Father Currier in a recent article speaks of this Roman Catholic revival and of the awful need for it:

> As to religion, there is a new Brazil as much as in politics and in material prosperity. The Catholicity of the colonial period has left its monuments in the old churches, nearly all in the style of the Renaissance of the period. But religion in Brazil had declined, and the abomination of desolation was prevailing in the holy place. I could not begin to tell you of the utter deterioration of religion which once existed. All this I learned since leaving Bahia. Then came the change, one of the most wonderful changes recorded in ecclesiastical history, and all within a period of twenty years. The empire fell—it was a Providence of God—and the State ceased to meddle with the Church. Breathing the atmosphere of freedom, the Church expanded, and to-day she finds herself in a most flourishing condition. The impulse is due to that great statesman, that noble Pontiff, that Leo XIII, whose eagle eye never ceased to scan the horizon. He sent Cardinal Gotti to Brazil; the reformation began in earnest. The old religious orders were nearly extinct; their ranks were recruited from Europe. The old Benedictine abbeys arose from their tomb, while the Carmelites and Franciscans, equally recruited from abroad, were born anew. . . . Priests are the great need of Brazil, for vocations, especially among the better classes, are scarce and seminaries are few. For instance, there is one seminary for the whole province of São Paulo, with a small number of students. Should matters continue to advance and no untoward events occur, the Brazilian Church has now an era of prosperity ahead of her.[1]

[1] *The American Catholic Quarterly Review*, July, 1910, 477f.

Arequipa, Peru; Mount Misti in the Distance

Avenue of Palm Trees in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

According to the Vatican correspondent of the New York *Sun,* Leo XIII began in 1884 to plan for this "rehabilitation of the South American Churches" whose decadence was recognized. But this tide of interest on the part of the European Roman Catholic Church in South America is sweeping in much that is evil. Along with honest men, the refuse driven out of other lands is also pouring into South America. The South Americans are beginning to resent the invasion which has threatened their liberal institutions. The new forces have greatly strengthened the Church, but they have done nothing as yet to revive real religion and little to enlist the interest of the people in the old forms which have lost whatever meaning they may have once possessed to the great masses of the South American population.

*Two competent testimonies from within.* In summarizing the present religious conditions in South America, I cannot do better than cite two witnesses. One was for six years a Roman Catholic priest in South America, and the other is Father Charles W. Currier, Ph.D., of Washington.

The former writes that every statement made in this and the preceding chapter with regard to present conditions is true and adds these notes:

I lived six years in South America, and being directly engaged in religious work, was alive to the moral problems, and my experience bears out all you say, and more than that.

As to illiterates in Brazil, 85 per cent is very conservative; I should have put it higher.

As to illegitimacy, 68.8 per cent is, I think, untrue. The true percentage, if it could be had, would put the figure much above this. There are whole towns along the Parana where there is not nor has there ever been marriage.

I had to copy out a report of a long missionary journey

in the north of Argentina, and the baptismal register read, over against almost every name—I should say against 95 per cent of the names—"hijo natural" or "hija natural."

I can also corroborate your testimony as to the place of "marriages" in the little missionary work that is done in the Argentine. The Bishop of La Plata and his coadjutor, both exemplary and zealous men, make long journeys and work hard, but men of this stamp are far too few. On all their missionary journeys they take with them a certain man —priest—who has a gift for inducing people who are living together to get married.

I have seen sixty couples married after a mission in Holy Cross Church, Buenos Aires, and in some cases the children attended the marriage of their parents.

The "cherida" or "amada" is a regular institution and almost universal among such men as can support one, and the custom is imitated by the older sons.

As to Church and State, the relation established by law does not favor the Church in all cases. I have heard many priests say that they wished that the day might come and come quickly when there would be a separation; the priests who say this are, however, not natives, nor Latins.

Cardinal Satolli, when in this country, drew a comparison between the relations of Church and State in North and in South America. He said, using and playing upon a well-known scholastic distinction: "The State in America recognizes the 'personality' but not the 'existence' of the Church, and in South America it recognizes the 'existence' but not the 'personality.'"

I was in Rio when the St. Francis Hospital was formally opened with a semi-pagan pageant in the church on the hill above it—the old Franciscan Church. I saw a little thing that day which was eloquent of the attitude of laity to clergy in Brazil. The public was invited to inspect the new building, and when we went down the long steps and came to the door of the hospital through which the people were thronging, I saw the robed guardian of the door rudely shove a priest out and forbid him entrance.

I have seen irreverence in churches everywhere, but I never saw anything to equal the irreverence of men in Brazil. The striking case that I have in mind was of a man who seemed

to have come to church with no other purpose than to mock the priest.

In Argentina, while the Federal Government supports the Apostolic Roman Catholic Church, and the President and Vice-President must belong to that church, it is also the case that the government does not support the priests but only the Bishops, and the President and Vice-President, when I was there, were *ipso facto* excommunicated men because they were Masons.

The Catholic forces in Brazil, Argentina and all down the East coast are in despair. They are absolutely without hope. They look upon the Church's tenure of power as a matter of time, and that a short time. I have heard many a discussion behind closed doors upon the situation, and all that was said bore this note of despair. The Catholic Church has not only lost its grip there, but even the Catholic Church knows it. I am speaking even of the native priests.

I do not think that the Church in any case reaches more than ten per cent of the people, and in many places this is saying too much. I do not believe that of the 1,000,000 people in Buenos Aires there are 200 men on any given Sunday at service.

There may be places in South America where it is true, but I do not think that it can be said that the priesthood is the most influential body in South America, and I know that its hold on politics is precarious and only for a time. Its hold on family life is not present but inherited. The substance of religion is gone and only superstition is left. The priest is hated.

The Church has a hold, but the grip is the grip of a dead hand, only the people do not as yet realize that the hand is dead. But there is no life in the grip, and it only needs a vigorous effort on the part of the missionaries, massed in numbers at some stragetic point, to loosen the grip. I cannot say too often that the Church there is dead, and none know it better than the priests themselves.

Father Currier visited South America as a delegate to the International Congress of Americanists and has written a most interesting account of the various lands

he visited in a book entitled "Lands of the Southern Cross." These are some of his comments on the present conditions of Church and priesthood. We will quote him fairly:

The Brazilian people, as a body, are surely attached to the old Church, at least in form, but there is no doubt that there, as elsewhere, a spirit of rationalism prevails among certain classes.[1]

In the days of the empire, the Church, united to the State, had fallen into a condition of decrepitude, and the morals of the clergy, secular and regular, were greatly relaxed; but in the last twenty years a wonderful reformation has taken place.[2]

Yet I have reason to believe that the practice of religion in Brazil leaves much to be desired.[3]

There can be no doubt that, before the separation of Church and State, the influence of the government was, on the whole, unfavorable to the Church, greatly hampering its freedom of action. This will, to some extent, explain the relaxation of morals, while it is quite sure that the general reform began under the impetus given by Rome.[4]

The Jesuit Fathers (in Montevideo) have charge of the Seminary, but here, as in many other countries of South America, there are few vocations to the priesthood. This scarcity of native ecclesiasts has rendered it necessary to accept the services of those from abroad, and hence it is that so many foreign priests, French, German, Italian and Spanish, are scattered throughout South America. . . . Most of the members of these religious orders are foreigners, and they are always on the *qui vive,* not knowing at what hour an edict of banishment may be passed against them. In the meantime, they are working hard in the ministry. As a rule, the clergy of Uruguay is very good, though, to some extent, characterized by that inactivity and slowness found in so many Latin countries. . . .

The Catholic Church is still recognized officially, but only the bishops and the seminary obtain a subvention from the government. In spite of the union of Church and State,

[1] 44. [2] 52. [3] 62. [4] 62, 63.

Fountain in Buenos Aires, Argentina

there seems to be an undercurrent of hostility to the Church which may break out at any moment. The public schools are neutral, and the teaching of religion is excluded, while the State university is said to be atheistic in its tendencies. Religion has no place even in the foundling asylum. Although there are Catholic organs like *El Bien*, and prominent Catholic laymen, like Dr. Sorrilla San Martin, most newspapers are hostile to the Church. It is no wonder that, with the elimination of religious principles, morality should be discounted. While influences for good are crushed to earth, French literature and the French theater are permitted to corrupt the morals of the people, and they say that licensed prostitution is widespread.[1]

As Church and State are united in Argentina, the Senate nominates the candidates to the episcopacy, and the names are forwarded to Rome. It sometimes occurs that the candidate is rejected. The system is surely not the best that can be desired, as it naturally renders bishops, more or less, subservient to the State and timid, especially when they are subsidized by the government. This is one of those evils inseparable from a union of Church and State which, in the past, has caused no end of trouble to the Church.[2]

The clergy of Argentina, as a body, bear a very good reputation for conduct, though the general complaint one hears in South America is that many of the foreign secular ecclesiastics, led to America more by self-interest than by zeal, have proved themselves worthless. For this reason, the bishops have become more cautious in admitting strangers.

In Argentina, as throughout all of South America, ecclesiastics always wear the cassock. I am, however, aware of the fact that, in Buenos Aires at least, there is a decided wish on the part of some of the clergy to discard it as a street costume; but they are, naturally, opposed by the older conservative element. There is no doubt that, in a city like Buenos Aires, seething with elements hostile to the Church, the ecclesiastical garb is somewhat of a hindrance. Though it may protect the respectability of a priest, it also hampers his freedom of action, and must necessarily dampen his zeal. In the United States, priests clad in secular garb go anywhere and everywhere. They penetrate, unhampered, into

[1] 66, 67. [2] 143, 144.

every nook and corner of their parish, they learn to know their people. I am afraid that this personal work of the ministry that brings the priest in touch with the people is a great desideratum in South America, for the most useful part of a priest's life does not lie in the routine work between four walls, but in seeking out the lost sheep of Israel. It is clear that in a large, modern city, like Buenos Aires, where the cassock is exposed to constant ridicule, and where a very large proportion of the foreign element hates the very sight of it, a priest becomes timid, and must, of necessity, lack that fearless temper which would lead him to brave every obstacle, and go into the enemy's camp, if it is necessary.[1]

In spite of all the churches in Buenos Aires, and of the labors of the priests in Argentina, and in South America generally, there is much irreligion. A considerable number are actually hostile to the Church, while a very large proportion, though professedly Catholic, are indifferent, as far as the practice of religion is concerned. The infidel literature of the eighteenth century, secret organizations, bad example, and many other causes have produced this result.

We must, however, give credit to the Argentine clergy for not compromising with the irreligious spirit, even when it manifests itself in high quarters. As an instance, I may cite the "Revista Eclesiastico del Arzobispado de Buenos Aires," an official and very clever review, published under the auspices of the archbishop. In one of its numbers, among its ecclesiastical notes, it cites the "Pueblo," to show the anti-Catholic spirit of a high public official, who, when a committee of ladies called upon him, to petition for the establishment of a bishopric in Rosario, told them that he would in every way oppose the measure, because Rosario progressed better without a bishop and "the plague of clericalism."[2]

(In Chile) the secular clergy, a highly esteemed body of men, is recruited from the best families, whereby a distinguishing mark is attached to the Chilean Church. The old Friars, at one time so active in Spanish America, while they retain their wealth, have apparently lost much of their prestige. Though they are edifying by their conduct, they do not seem to have kept pace with the times, and the fact

[1] 144, 145. [2] 154, 155.

that they have recruited their ranks too easily, with perhaps too little discrimination and preparation, has made them descend somewhat from the commanding intellectual position they once occupied. That the old orders in Chile are very wealthy can easily be understood, when we reflect that they have been in the country since the conquest, and, as their property has remained corporate and undivided in the various orders, it has naturally increased in value during the centuries.

It is evident that the distribution of ecclesiastics in the Church is very unequal, complaints meeting us from all sides of the scarcity of priests, while, in some countries, we find monasteries filled with members of their respective orders.[1]

The parish priests of Lima are well spoken of, though complaints are heard against some of the ecclesiastics from Europe. The districts away from the cities, where priests are very isolated, still leave much to be desired, and, from what I could learn, there is still room for a general reformation throughout the country. As contact with the rest of the world increases, railroads become more numerous, and closer relations between the centers of population are established, an amelioration is bound to come. The fact that there has been such a marked improvement of late, gives hope for better things in the future. Unfortunately, for the Church in Peru, there are few vocations to the priesthood, and the native clergy is dying out. The Church will have to depend largely on importations from abroad.[2]

If you listen to some of the priests, they tell you that religion is in a very bad condition, that the men do not frequent the sacraments, that the influence of St. Mark's University is evil, and that a Catholic university is absolutely needed. On the other hand, if you go to some of the churches on Sunday morning, you will see them crowded, and visiting the prominent churches, like Santo Domingo, San Francisco, and that of the Jesuits, you will observe a goodly number at mass on week days. Women are, of course, in the vast majority, yet I have, time and again, seen a large number of men on week-day mornings in the church of the Jesuits. To judge from appearances, religion is not on the

[1] 228, 229. [2] 283.

decline, and the churches are very much frequented, while there is, surely, much piety among the women.[1]

As I look over my notes, jotted down at random, during my Lima days, I read these words: "How different from the Lima of my dreams!" Yes; Lima was a disappointment; everything—churches, convents, dwellings, from the cathedral down, seemed to be in need of repairs; for the hand of decay was over all.[2]

The foreign priests are bringing in a new energy, but the "hand of decay" is over all. If one need of South America is education, it is clear that a second great need is religion. There is a glamour over the decay which at first allures one, but this soon passes and the whole system is seen in its weakness and ruin. It is a relic, not a prophecy. It is the echo of receding footsteps. The false political ideals, identified with which it came to South America, have long since passed away. But there came in the Church noble motives and a true life and it lived on after Pizarro and Almagro and Valdivia and the adventurers, after Gasca and de Souza and the governors, after San Martin and Bolivar and Mirando and the liberators. But now the dissolution of its tyranny is at hand. The true was tainted with the false and shadowed with an ever darkening shadow, a shadow which in all charity but in the relentless truth we must call a moral night. That is the light that is now shining from the Roman Catholic Church over South America. If religion has nothing to do with morality, then it is all well. We can leave South America alone. But if as we believe religion is nothing but a living morality, the morality of a true and loving fellowship with a Heavenly Father, a righteousness alive in Christ, if true religion

[1] 283, 284. [2] 275.

and undefiled is this, that a man should visit the fatherless and the widows in their affliction and keep himself unspotted—then we are no Christians if we do not, whether American Protestant or American Catholic, carry such a religion to South America.

# CHAPTER VII

## THE INDIANS

We have already considered the condition of the Indians prior to the European conquest, the effect of the conquest upon the Indian people and the work done for them by the Roman Catholic missionaries. The Indians in the Jesuit Missions were probably happier and better off than the pure blooded Indians have ever been since. From the wrongs which they suffered at the hands of the conquerors, as we have seen, the Jesuits steadily sought to protect them. In Brazil they fought against the enslavement of the Indian when the early regulation permitted the colonists to keep in slavery such Indians "as might be seized on a just war, such as might be sold by their own parents and such as might sell themselves."[1] But the protection of the Jesuits covered but a small number of Indians out of the millions in South America. The general conditions were evil. The regulations just quoted opened the door to almost any desired enslavement of the natives in Brazil. What happened on the West Coast we have also seen. Slavery simply wiped out the people by the million. This is the darker side.

But some doubt the reliability of the figures of decimation and there is also another side. The Latin occupation of South America did not exterminate the

[1] Vianna, "Memoirs of the State of Bahia," 614f.

Indian. On the other hand it has preserved him as he was not preserved in North America. The South American population of to-day contains perhaps twenty times as many pure blooded Indians as are left in the United States and Canada, while Indian blood is the chief strain in the great majority of the people on the western side of the Continent. As a correspondent of the London *Times* wrote:

> The Latin white has not so despised the Indian as to disdain the idea of a union of members of the two races; to the Anglo-Saxon the idea of any such union is repugnant; and so the North American Indians have been compelled to remain creatures apart, inferior beings, outcasts. Forced to marry among those of their own race only, their diminished numbers have naturally led to a great deal of inbreeding amongst the peoples of the various tribes, and the inevitable result is that they are dying out. In South America the case is very different; the white and the Indian have mixed with a fair amount of freedom, and the result has been not altogether harmful to either people. In fact, where the intermixture has been most common, a decidedly fine, sturdy, valorous race has been evolved—a race destined perhaps to do great things.[1]

It is interesting to note the degree to which the Indian blood in the South American peoples has been affected by the European strain. In some lands like Peru and Bolivia there are great masses of the mixed blood population which are dominantly Indian, while in Chile and Colombia where the Indian strain is very heavy, the mixed blood population, while retaining many Indian qualities, is more strongly Spanish in its present character.

But it is not of the people of mixed blood that we are thinking in this chapter, but of the true Indians.

[1] The *Times*, London, South American Supplement, August 30, 1910.

*Argentina.* The Argentine Republic has the largest proportion of European blood in its people and Uruguay ranks probably next in this regard. The Indian population of these sections of South America seems to have been very scanty and what there was has been either exterminated or absorbed. In Uruguay there are no pure Indians now and in Argentina not many, except those who come in from Bolivia and the Paraguayan Chaco on the north to work in the sugar factories. According to the "Statesman's Year Book" there are in the Argentine 30,000 Indians and in Paraguay, 50,000.

*Paraguay.* The largest body of Indians in the southern part of the continent is in this western portion of Paraguay, called the Chaco. Among the Indians in Paraguay the South American Missionary Society has a long established work at several points with about fifteen missionaries, and a new mission has been recently organized primarily to carry on "pioneer effort to evangelize the Indians in Northern Paraguay and Matto Grosso," one of the most interior states of Brazil. Its last annual report states that it has work in Paraguay at Conception, Horqueta and Santa Teresa in the department of Caaguazu. A speaker at the Ecumenical Missionary Conference in New York in 1900 gave an account of these Chaco Indians. "The Chaco," he said, "is a region rather larger than the whole of France, and it is populated, as far as I can tell, by nearly a quarter of a million of heathen Indians. These Indians have maintained a virtual independence of the neighboring republics ever since the first Spanish conquerors landed in that country; and there are no civilized residents among

them except the mission party."[1] The volume on Paraguay by Dr. José Segundo Decoud, of that country, published by the Bureau of the American Republics, states that the total Indian population of Paraguay is about 100,000. The speaker at the Ecumenical Conference went on to speak of the ideas of these Indians.

The people live in constant dread of devils. They are afraid to go at night to the swamps, because they say these swamps are the homes of devils. They live in constant dread of their lives, on account of the witch doctors. Witch doctors might send cats or rats, or snakes, or beetles into the body, and only by the help of a friendly witch doctor can one get rid of them. Then they believe in dreams. The Indian believes that when he is dreaming, his spirit really leaves his body and wanders far away; and while his soul is away, another wandering soul may enter in and take possession, and then his own soul cannot get back. Another serious thing is that they hold you responsible for what they dream. If they dream of being killed by a certain man, they hold that man responsible, and think they are justified in killing him in return. They also bury people alive and practice infanticide. It is not done out of cruelty, but simply from a religious motive. But these savages are capable of improving.[2]

Another worker among these Indians writes of a visit to those living in the vicinity of San Estaneslao:

Led by a native guide, we found the Indians hidden away behind the shelter of almost impassable swamps, across which we could not take our horses, amid the most savage conditions, and in great poverty. Some of them had a little maize, but for the most part they appeared to live on wild fruits, roots, reptiles, caterpillars, or anything procurable by hunting or fishing. For clothing they wore only loin-cloths

[1] Report of Ecumenical Missionary Conference, New York, 1900, Vol. I, 481.
[2] Ibid.

and bands of women's hair twisted round the legs below the knees and round the wrists. Their faces were painted in curious patterns with some black pigment, and in some cases were also mutilated by a hole in the lower lip, through which a long appendage of resinous gum protruded, hanging down in front of the chin. They were armed with long, powerful bows, from which they can discharge, with deadly effect, long barbed arrows pointed with hard wood. Some of these arrows measure over six feet in length, and they speak with forcible if silent eloquence for the muscular build of the people who use them, especially when we consider that the men are only of average height. Another of their weapons is the stone axe. This they are said to make by inserting a piece of stone into the live limb of a growing tree and afterwards severing the limb with sharp flints and scraping it into shape for a handle when the wood has grown firmly round the stone. My visit was, however, too brief for me to see for myself that they do make their axes in the manner described. We saw also among them curiously made drums which seem to take the place of the gourd rattle used by some of the other tribes to drive off evil spirits. Water-pots were also in evidence, most ingeniously constructed with beeswax built on a basket-work frame of fine cane. Also rude clay pottery made, without any potter's wheel, by rolling the clay between the hands into long lines and building the pot up coil upon coil, kneading the coils into each other as the work proceeds, and smoothing and fashioning the pot with wet fingers till the desired shape is produced, then burning it till it is hard. They had twine also, beautifully made by themselves from fine cotton-like fiber, by a process of simply twisting it with their fingers and rolling the strands together on the leg. Some of the women were busily weaving their little loin-cloths on rude square frames made with four branches of a tree firmly fixed in the ground. Indeed, in spite of their miserable condition, they showed many evidences of intelligence and capacity.[1]

*Patagonia.* The conditions just described are typical among the uncivilized Indians. It was into condi-

[1] *South American Indians,* March, 1909, 82f.—Annual Report of the Inland-South-America Missionary Union.

tions very similar to these that Titus Coan came on his brief missionary venture among the Indians of Patagonia.[1] For a fascinating account of the Patagonian Indians the student should read the tenth chapter of Darwin's "Naturalist's Voyage in the Beagle." It was among these Indians and those to the south of them that one of the most heroic of all missionary enterprises met its tragic end, the mission, namely, of Captain Allen Gardiner. Those who remember Gardiner and his heroic death in Tierra del Fuego will wonder whether there are none left of the poor people among whom he came to work. Very few, and these few among the lowest people in the world, naked or clad only with one loose skin rug, living in little reed huts which afford no shelter, feeding upon mussels or fish for which the naked women dive into the sea, and possessing no ambition for improvement. The total population of the province of Magellanes, which includes all Chilean Tierra del Fuego, is 17,330. More than two-thirds of this population is in the town of Punta Arenas. The rural population of the province is only 5,131, and this includes the large farming population, caring for the millions of sheep scattered over these storm beaten hills, where in 1878 there were but 185 sheep in the whole province. There cannot be more than a few hundreds or at the most a thousand, of Indians in the province and very few more on the Argentine side of Tierra del Fuego. The only work among them is the work of the South American Missionary Society at River Douglas, Novaria Island, not far from Spaniard Harbor, where Allen Gardiner fell.

*Chile.* The Araucanian Indians of Chile were the stiffest necked Indians in South America. The Span-

[1] Coan, "Adventures in Patagonia," 51.

iards never subdued them and the Chilean Government had its own troubles with them. They are now reduced to the little company in the south central section of Chile. The census of 1907 gave the total number of Araucanian Indians as 49,719 men and 51,399 women. Nearly one-half of them are in the one province of Cautin and another quarter in the adjoining province of Valdivia. They have a religion not unlike that of the Alaska Indians, with one language, unwritten until the missionaries reduced it to writing. The missionaries have now Genesis, Acts and part of Revelation translated into Araucanian. The South American Missionary Society of England has a good mission among these Araucanian or Mapuche Indians, with three stations at Temuco, Maquehere (or Quepe), and Cholchal with churches, hospital and industrial school. The Indian strain in the Chilean people is the Araucanian strain and Chile

> has in this groundwork the best fighting material to be found in South America to-day. That is not to be wondered at when one considers both the ancient soldierly qualities of the Spaniard and the noble fierceness of the Araucanian, who maintained his independence throughout a war with Spain that lasted close on three hundred years, and was never vanquished. Though the Indians of Chile are a vanishing race, as a separate entity, largely owing to the habits of intemperance, they, in common with the Peruvian Indians, have acquired, they have flourishing descendants in the bulk of the people of Chile, whose national hero, it is worth while to note, is no man of Spanish blood, but the Araucanian cacique Lautaro, the greatest military chieftain South America has produced with the single exception of San Martin.[1]

*Brazil.* The largest number of wild Indians to be found in any South American country is believed to

[1] The *Times*, London, South American Supplement, August 30, 1910.

be in Brazil. When the Portuguese came there were four great Indian families spread over Brazil and adjacent countries.

The Tupy-Guaranys occupied one-fourth of Brazil, all of Paraguay and Uruguay, and much of Bolivia and the Argentine, and it is probable that the original seats of this family were in the central tablelands or in Paraguay. All Tupy Indians spoke dialects of one language, which the Jesuit missionaries soon reduced to grammatical and literary form, and which became a *lingua franca* that was understood from the Plate to the Amazon. Back of the coast Tupys were the Botacudos, the most degraded and intractable of Brazilian savages, remnants of whom still survive in their original seats in Espirito Santo, Minas, and São Paulo. The Caribs, with whom students of the history of the Caribbean Sea are familiar, originated in the plains of Goyaz and Matto Grosso and emigrated as far north as the Antilles. The Arawaks were most numerous in Guiana and on the Lower Amazon, but were also spread over Central Brazil.

The Brazilian Indians did not survive the white man's coming to as large an extent as in Spanish-America. The pure Indian is found in Brazil only in regions where the white man has not thought it worth while to take possession, and the proportion of Indian blood is much smaller than in surrounding countries. In many localities, evidences of Indian descent are so rare as to be remarkable.[1]

The number of Indians now left in Brazil is unknown. The Government census of 1890, one of the last official attempts at the hopeless task of taking a census in Brazil, gives the number as 1,300,000. Ordinarily it is estimated at from 1,500,000 to 2,220,000, but some travellers have doubled these figures and other students believe that the numbers are far smaller. A government surveyor told us there were not 5,000 pure Indians in all the coast states. Dr. W. C. Farabee of the Peabody Museum, who has been in

[1] Dawson, "The South American Republics," Vol. I, 299f.

South America in connection with the De Milhau-Harvard South American Expedition studying the Indians, writes in a personal letter:

No attempt has ever been made at an enumeration of the Indians of South America. Several tribes in isolated sections have so far escaped the influence of civilization and religion. The early Spanish missions established on the headwaters of the Amazon were nearly all destroyed in the eighteenth century, so that to-day the Church has very little influence anywhere on the Amazon, or, in other words, there is an area in Central South America two-thirds the size of the United States in which primitive religion prevails.

Iquitos (in Peru on the Upper Amazon), with her 15,000 to 20,000 inhabitants (whites and Indians), has no church or religious organization of any kind—an excellent place for the *right man* who is not afraid of a deadly climate which carries away hundreds every year without the comfort of a religious adviser. The Indian needs religious teaching much less than the white man in those countries.

Most of the Brazilian Indians are utterly wild and untamed. The great majority of them have never been seen by white men. Their ways are the primitive ways of the savage. There are interesting notes upon them in Bates' "A Naturalist on the Amazon" and Cook's "By Horse, Canoe and Foot through the Wilderness of Brazil." A deputation from the English Baptist Missionary Society made some investigation of the Indians in southern Brazil in 1909 and in its report summarized from the accounts of the Salesian priests who are at work among the Bororos some of the facts about this one tribe. These will be sufficiently illustrative:

The Bororos (sometimes called also Coroados) are the largest, most widely distributed tribe of all. They are to be found on the east of the State from the Goyaz boundary to some forty miles east of Cuiaba, and to the south of Cuiaba

as far as Coxim. They are usually in small parties of twenty to fifty in number, and in part at least are less nomadic than the smaller tribes. They are tribal in feeling, not regarding Bororos of other villages as their enemies; but those in the south and east wage war unceasing against the Cayapos. They are men of tall stature, large-boned, hairless faces, but with the hair of the head thick and black and long, large cheek-bones, large square lower jaws, with decided prognathism. Eyes small, narrow; features Chinese-like. The men do not show signs of age, although some we saw were said to be upwards of seventy years of age. Their costume in the forest is the "ba," a leaf of the maize envelope, and a coating of dirt to keep off the blood-sucking insects. In their villages, there may be several "captains," or elders, who direct their affairs; no one has authority over all of the inhabitants, the test for chieftainship being the singing of the Bacururu. Orders for the ensuing day are sung by one of the chiefs in the evening, together with his commendations and rebukes of any who that day have failed in the duties assigned to them. The men eat in common in their assembly hut—the "baito." They have exorcists, fetish men, called "Bari," and believe in God, "Marebba," who is good, eternal, has a mother and a very powerful son. They have also a devil, "Bope," who inhabits the tops of trees and mountains. God is beautiful, rich, well clothed; "Bope" is ugly, infects their food, and has to be exorcised by the Bari. They believe in the transmigration of souls and in a reward for the good, while the bad experience an unquenchable hunger and thirst.

The "Baris" have the power to evoke departed spirits, and do so by a piece of wood, ten inches by four inches, whirled round the head at the end of a string. At this sound the women flee and cover the head; the death penalty is the result of being too inquisitive. Their mode of burial is peculiar. For two days they "wake" the corpse, and then bury it for twenty days in a very shallow excavation, with a mat only for covering. At the end of this time they remove it to the neighboring stream and wash the bones, which they place in a specially made basket. This is carried to the men's assembly house, and the skull is decorated with short, colored feathers in patterns, while the relatives gash them-

selves till the blood rolls down them. Then head and bones are placed in another basket and put out of sight in a place not generally known.

Their arms are bows of "arueira," a black wood similar to the African palisanda, measuring some six feet in length, and their arrows are six feet long, of which four feet is reed, and the two feet of point is "arueri," with a head of bone from the thigh-bones of birds. The arrow is straight, feathered for about eight inches.[1]

There is a small government reservation of Indians near Para where there are 1,500 or so among whom the Roman Catholic Church is working, and there are still remnants of the work which that Church did in the days of the Jesuits at Villa Rica and eleswhere in northwestern Parana. Old bridges and monasteries and roads long abandoned recall the days in the sixteenth century when the Jesuits had great estates operated by thousands of Indian serfs in the region where now Brazil and Paraguay and Uruguay meet. On the upper Amazon, as Dr. Farabee says, practically nothing is being done.

*Bolivia.* In Bolivia and Peru one comes upon the Indian problem in South America in a very definite and practical form. According to the Bolivian official statement there are 903,126 Indians in Bolivia, and 485,293 mestizos or half-breeds or cholas. The Indians, mestizos and whites are curiously distributed in the various departments or provinces. I pick out the principal ones:

| | Indian | Mestizo | White |
|---|---|---|---|
| La Paz | 333,421 | 43,100 | 36,255 |
| Potosi | 186,947 | 89,159 | 21,713 |
| Cochabamba | 75,514 | 169,161 | 60,605 |
| Santa Cruz | 94,526 | 44,248 | 59,470 |

[1] Report of the Deputation to South America, April, 1909–February, 1910, 16.

Indians In Bolivia

Loads of Sugar Cane, Bahia, Brazil

The mestizos are not most numerous where the Indians are most common. And it is of interest that the mestizos are less numerous in the section where the Indians are Aymaras. Of the 900,000 Indians perhaps two-thirds or less are Quichuas and one-third or more Aymaras. The Government Geografia says that 91 per cent of the Indians are subject to law, and nine per cent in a full state of barbarism. Some are called cannibals. We saw in the La Paz prison some Indians who had been convicted of killing and eating some liberal soldiers entrapped in a church by a conservative priest and delivered to the Indians. Since 1878, the Geografia adds, the race has been "wounded to death." That year famine and drought brought pest and these were followed by alcoholism, and now the birth rate is less than the death rate. Nevertheless according to the government statement the numbers have increased since 1846 when there are said to have been 701,558 Indians out of a population of 1,373,896. This would leave 662,338 mestizos and whites. On the basis of these figures the Indians have increased 201,538, or 29 per cent, and the rest of the population only 54,043, or 8 per cent. The Geografia lays the blame for the slow progress of the country largely on the Indian population and its unwillingness to accept any innovation.

There are those who deny that these Indians are capable of improvement, and the Government has met with small success in the few efforts made for them. It has perhaps a score of traveling teachers who go about holding schools, and offers, we were told, the sum of twenty bolivianos for each Indian taught to read and write, an attainment not eagerly sought because it lays the Indian open to conscription, army

service being the duty of full citizens and literacy being a requirement for full citizenship. The Bolivian Indians look very much like our own North American Indians, but they have never had their savage ways. They are a mild, industrious, unambitious people, though a few successful men including at least one president, have come out from them. They are counted Roman Catholic, but the Church has done nothing for them in the way of education or enlightenment, and in many places they have no attachment to it. In Professor Bingham's "Across South America," there are some interesting notes on the Quichuas and Aymaras, the attitude of the white Bolivians to them, and the general political conditions in Bolivia in consequence of this large and backward Indian element:

There is no doubt about the Quichuas being a backward race. From the earliest historical times these poor Indians have virtually been slaves. Bred up to look upon subjection as their natural lot, they bear it as the dispensation of Providence. The Incas treated them well, so far as we can judge, and took pains to see that the irrigation works, the footpaths over the mountains, the suspension bridges over the raging torrents and *tambos* for the convenience of travellers should all be kept in good condition. The gold-hunting Spanish *conquistadores,* on the other hand, had no interest in the servile Quichuas further than to secure their services as forced laborers in the mines. The modern Bolivians have done little to improve their condition. . . .

How much the extremely severe conditions of life that prevail on this arid plateau have had to do in breaking the spirit of the race is a question. It is a generally accepted fact that a race who are dependent for their living on irrigating ditches, can easily be conquered. All that the invading army has to do is to destroy the dams, ruin the crops, and force the inhabitants to face starvation.

The Quichua shows few of the traits which we ordinarily

connect with mountaineers. His country is too forlorn to give him an easy living or much time for thought. He is half starved nearly all the time. His only comfort comes from chewing coca leaves. . . . Coca has deadened his sensibilities to a degree that passes comprehension. It has made him stupid, willing to submit to almost any injury, lacking in all ambition, caring for almost none of the things which we consider the natural desires of the human heart. . . .

The truth is, the Quichua not only has no ambition, he has long ago ceased to care whether you or he or anybody else has more than just barely enough to keep body and soul together. . . .[1]

The Quichuas are a mild and inoffensive folk, but the Aymaras, heavier in build, coarser featured, and more vigorous in general appearance, are brutally insolent in their manner and unruly in their behavior. We were even regaled with stories of their cannibalism on certain occasions, but unfortunately had no opportunity of proving the truth of such statements. Neither Quichuas nor Aymaras are at all thrifty, and we were everywhere impressed with their great poverty. Their clothing is generally the merest rags and their food is as meager as can possibly be imagined. Coca and *chicha* (i. e., cocaine and alcohol) seem to be the beginning and end of life with them.

It is unfortunate that no efforts are being made to establish a good system of public schools and enforce attendance. One of the greatest difficulties in the way of such an undertaking is the fact that the Indians not only have no interest in securing the education of their children, but also that they find it to their advantage to speak their own tongue rather than Spanish. Probably less than fifteen per cent of the population speak Spanish with fluency. They are lacking in ambition, seem to have no desire to raise produce, bear ill-will towards strangers, and prefer not to assist travellers to pass through their country. Even if a man has plenty of chickens and sheep, he will generally refuse to sell any although you offer him an excellent price. With coaxing and coca you may succeed. Sometimes he pretends not to understand Spanish and replies to all questions in guttural Quichua or Aymara.

[1] 104–108.

So large a percentage of the population are Indians that nearly all the whites are actively interested in politics and would like to be officeholders. It is said that all elections are merely forms through which the party in power goes, in order to maintain its supremacy.

The majority of the inhabitants are in no sense fitted to be the citizens of a republic. However much the theoretical lover of liberty may bemoan the fact that Bolivia is in reality an oligarchy, one cannot help feeling that that is the only possible outcome of an attempt to simulate the forms of a republic in a country whose inhabitants are so deficient both mentally and morally.[1]

*Peru.* Of Peru's total population of 3,500,000, one-third are ethnic crossbreeds and 1,700,000 are Indians. There are scores of minor divisions of the Indians as there are also in Bolivia, but the Indians of Peru are almost all grouped among the Quichuas. They are less independent than the Aymaras of northern Bolivia, and it becomes less difficult after moving among them, as Professor Bingham discovered, to understand the wonderful exploits of the early Spanish conquerors. Equipped as they were and supported by strange traditions, and as superior to the Indians in intelligence as they surpassed them in recklessness, a small company of such adventurers as Pizarro and his men could easily do what they did. A small pack of wolves can scatter a million sheep, and the Indians of the Incas were nothing more than sheep against the Spaniards. With the Aztecs and the Araucanians it was different, and Cortez and Valdivia had no such simple task as Pizarro, whose great conquest was of nature and not of man.

Mrs. Turner, a Peruvian, with Indian blood in her veins, has written a novel depicting the present condi-

[1] 153–155.

tion of the Peruvian Indians and protesting against their wrongs. It is entitled "Birds Without a Nest" and an English translation is published by Thynne, of Paternoster Row, London. The story turns around a characteristic South American perplexity. A young man and woman about to marry find that they are children of the same priest. Europeans on the west coast declare that the Indians of Peru are the least cared for, the most wronged Indians on the coast, that they have no ambition for independent power because, on the whole, they suffer less when serfs of some man strong enough to protect them from others, however tributary they may be to him. Back in the eastern valleys there are many little known tribes and large numbers of Indians who have no communal life. In a paper entitled "Some Customs of the Macheyengas," Dr. W. C. Farabee states that this tribe has no religious ideas. They make no offerings, nor prayers. "There is no communion between themselves and any Spirit. They are uncontrolled in the slightest degree by any power or influence outside of themselves. Thus they live remarkably free from the conventions and restraints of custom and religion."

While in Arequipa in 1909 we met a Peruvian lawyer, a "free thinker" in religion, but greatly concerned for the unhappy condition of the Indians in his country. He was working in the interest of the establishment of schools among them. There were now 600 schools in the Spanish language among the Indians in Peru, he said, supported by the Government. The race was capable of improvement. Two Presidents of Peru had come from it. The Government wanted to teach the Indians in Spanish but they could not

learn in such schools and, moreover, they were not allowed by their masters to go to Spanish schools on the great farms, as the owners found that with a knowledge of Spanish they would become discontented and aspiring. He felt sure there would be no such opposition to schools in the Quichua language, which moreover would give the only possible education as the Indians did not know Spanish and in Spanish schools accomplished no more than mechanical memorization. Eighty per cent of the Indians in Peru, this advocate said, were serfs, the rest free Indians, but all were subject to constant injustice, were often seized illegally by night for military service, the army being made up of Indian conscripts, and were incapable through ignorance of Spanish of securing any redress in the courts. The present administration, he added, had suppressed some of the schools among the Indians which had been supported by the preceding administration.

The wild Indians are on the east side of Peru along the upper tributaries of the Amazon. The great body of the Indians are on the high plateaus and these are Quichuas. In their social and moral condition Dr. T. B. Wood, one of the veteran missionary workers in South America, sees a special opportunity and need:

> Their social condition, being not that of savages, dwelling in tents or wigwams, forming scattered tribes, sustained by hunting and fishing; but that of dense communities living in towns and villages of substantial houses, and sustained by farming, grazing and manufacturing, all on a petty scale but ready for development on a grand scale as fast as the people can be trained to modern methods and uplifted by moral regeneration.
>
> Their moral condition being on the decline, they are lower in the moral scale to-day than they were under the Incas. The friars and priests who swarmed in among them

with the Spanish conquest and have dominated their religious life ever since, instead of teaching them better things, have kept them in ignorance and superstition, and exploited their vices to get money from them, for nearly four hundred years. Their numerous religious festivals and saints' days, instead of stimulating them to holiness and usefulness, on the contrary overwhelm them with temptations to drunkenness and other forms of moral relaxation, sinking each new generation lower than its predecessors.

*Colombia and Ecuador.* It is estimated that in Colombia there are 250,000 Indians. Some people call almost the whole population of Colombia Indian, and there is doubtless a large element of Indian blood in it, but the people speak Spanish and are Latin Americans and not Indians. The best information we could find gave the total pure Indian population of Colombia as not over 250,000. On the boat on which we went up the Magdalena River to Honda en route to Bogota there was the young son of the king of the Indians near the Gulf of Darien, who number perhaps 20,000 or more. He was a very bright, attractive little boy, who spoke no Spanish but was being taken to Bogota by a Colombian officer to be placed in the government military school. There is another tribe of Indians of about the same size in the Santa Marta region in northeastern Colombia, where there are remnants of old paved roads showing that there was once a considerable Indian civilization here. There are some small scattered tribes of savage Indians back from the Magdalena River. The largest Indian population, however, is in Boyaca to the southeast of Bogota. A prominent lawyer returning to Bogota from an exile now ended by the retirement of Reyes told us that the Roman Catholic Church, as far as he knew, was doing nothing in Colombia for the Indians whom

he estimated at 200,000, but that he knew it was working among the Indians of Ecuador, of whom he said there were 600,000. Of Ecuador the "Statesman's Year Book" says that the bulk of the total population of 1,400,000 is Indian, that the inhabitants of pure European blood are few, those of mixed blood about 400,000 and the civilized Indians about 200,000. These Indians of Colombia and Ecuador do not speak the widely used Quichua tongue, but their own dialects.

One who has lived among the Ecuador Indians writes of them:

> They are certainly sunken the lowest of all the inhabitants both mentally and morally, and I understand that it has been even acknowledged by Catholic writers that their condition is worse now than when they were first discovered and conquered by the united representatives of the Spanish Church and state. If such is the case, we can safely say that there is no hope for the Indians from their present masters. It is true that some commendable efforts have been made by the present liberal government to better their condition in the matter of higher wages and protection against abuse, but to really elevate and educate them beyond the covers of the Catholic catechism, nothing has been done or can be done, except through the powerful medium of the Gospel of Christ. And to accomplish anything in this way, the upper classes must be touched at the same time, for the greater part of the wretchedness of the Indians is the result of the white man's attitude of mind toward them. The damage done them, equally through a false religion and through lordly oppression, has been of three centuries' duration, and mere legislative measures can never cure ills of such a confirmed nature.[1]

*Summary.* The following table gives the probable Indian population of South America. The estimates err, if at all, on the side of excess.

[1] C. S. Detweiler, "Social Conditions in Ecuador," *The Gospel Message*, November, 1901.

| | |
|---|---|
| Brazil | 1,300,000 |
| Argentina | 30,000 |
| Paraguay | 50,000 |
| Chile | 102,118 |
| Bolivia | 900,000 |
| Peru | 1,700,000 |
| Ecuador | 1,000,000 |
| Colombia | 250,000 |

Estimates of the total number of Indians in South America given to us ranged from 3,000,000 to 15,000,000, and of the Quichua Indians alone from 2,000,000 to 6,000,000. The men who had travelled most through interior South America were as a rule the most conservative in their estimates. One of these, Mr. Wenberg, formerly agent of the American Bible Society in Bolivia, who had travelled thousands of miles in the heart of South America, told us he did not believe there were more than 5,000,000 Indians in Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay, Bolivia and Peru. There are at least seven missions working among the Indians. The most needy and uncared for sections are the Indians of the Amazon, the Aymaras of Bolivia, the Quichuas of Bolivia and Peru, and the tribes of Ecuador and Colombia. There are savages among these Indians, but they are not unapproachable. The greater difficulties are due to climate and the geographical inaccessibility of the people and to the moral and spiritual needs, but these are precisely the reasons for our going to them. The South American Governments have not sought to do much among them, and the rubber trade and other enterprises have despoiled them. Gruesome stories are told of their exploitation in the rubber regions. The Quichuas and Aymaras are more hopeful than our North American Indians and adequate educational and evangelistic work among them

would surely effect in a few generations greater improvements than have been wrought among them by the agencies which have controlled them for the past four hundred years.

The South American Indians on the Andean plateau are a patient, saddened, hopeless people. What the London *Times* says of the Peruvian Indians might be said in greater or less measure of all these peoples from Venezuela down through Bolivia:

> The Indians of Peru were never the fine fighters that the Araucanians were, with the wild love of liberty that led the warriors of that race to their greatest deeds; but they certainly produced men of military genius in the days before the Conquest, men who were not mere fighters, but were great "organizers of victory," masters of strategy, and, in a word, scientific soldiers of the modern type. Essentially, however, they were a peace-loving people; and so they have remained, patient, submissive as Chinese, docile, long-suffering as sheep. To remember their great and noble past, the governing instinct their rulers displayed, and their mighty civilization, and to see them now with their individuality crushed out as the result of their long years of slavery, and suffering a heavy death-rate, owing to acquired intemperance, to poverty, and to the insanitary conditions in which they live, is the saddest thing in South America.[1]

Perhaps, though, this is not the saddest thing. But the fact that there are yet sadder things shows how deep is the need and how strong is the appeal from this continent of long-neglected opportunity.

[1] The *Times*, London, South American Supplement, August 30, 1910.

# CHAPTER VIII

## PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN SOUTH AMERICA

The first effort of the Protestant Churches after the Reformation to engage in foreign missions was that of the Church in Geneva to send the Gospel to Brazil. A detailed account of this effort is given in the second chapter of Parkman's "Pioneers of France in the New World." The mission lasted only a little more than ten years, the Portuguese driving out the French in 1567 and destroying the hope of a French Protestant influence which might have given Brazil an entirely different destiny.

The next Protestant effort was by the Dutch, who invaded Brazil and captured Bahia in 1624 and who brought Dutch ministers with them, alleging as part of their purpose in invading South America the introduction of a pure religion. Much of the religion which they brought was as formal as that which they sought to displace, but there were also excellent men among them who published good religious books in Portuguese and learned Guarany, the language of the Indians, and evangelized both them and the negroes. But in 1654 the Dutch withdrew and left almost no traces behind.

A century later, in 1735, the Moravian missions were begun in British Guiana and three years later in

Dutch Guiana, and in later years other missions were established in these possessions. But we are concerned in this study with Latin America, and its next Protestant missionary visitor was Henry Martyn, who, on his way to India in 1805, touched at Bahia long enough to ascend the battery overlooking the Bay of All Saints and to pray for the evangelization of the peoples of the lands about him. As he gazed upon the scene, he repeated the hymn:

> "O'er the gloomy hills of darkness
> Look, my soul, be still and gaze."

Before resuming his voyage, he found opportunities to enter the monasteries, Vulgate in hand, and reason with the priests out of the Scriptures.

As early as 1823, after the independence of the republics, missionaries were allowed to open schools in Buenos Aires, to conduct preaching services and to circulate Bibles. The work was soon given up. For some time, however, the circulation of the Bible was widely tolerated in the new states. In Bogota, a Bible Society was organized. The Secretary of State was its President and ecclesiastics were among its officers. In many places, the priests facilitated the circulation of the New Testament in Spanish and the Lancasterian schools using Scripture selections as reading lessons were established in Argentina, Montevideo, Chile, Peru and Colombia, Guatemala and Mexico. It seemed for a time that the evangelical movement would permeate the Catholic Church and thus make possible the evangelization of these lands without the introduction of Protestantism.[1] But the Roman Church soon rejected the reform. The schools

[1] See Brown, "Latin America," 185–190.

died. The circulation of the Bible was forbidden and the Church set herself against the movement of freedom and progress.[1]

The first enduring Protestant mission to South America began with the sacrifice of Capt. Allen Gardiner who perished of starvation in September, 1851, in Spaniard Harbor, Tierra del Fuego, in a cavern to which the searching party was directed by a hand painted on the rocks with Psalm 62: 5–8 under it:

> "My soul, wait thou only upon God;
> For my expectation is from Him.
> He only is my rock and my salvation.
> He is my high tower; I shall not be moved.
> With God is my salvation and my glory:
> The rock of my strength and my refuge is in God.
> Trust in Him at all times ye people;
> Pour out your heart before Him;
> God is a refuge for us."

Gardiner had been instrumental in establishing in 1844 the South American Missionary Society and his death gave its work a new impulse, as the heroism and devotion of his life have inspired workers at home and abroad in all Churches and in all lands.[2] It was of the results of the work which Gardiner began that Charles Darwin spoke in his often quoted testimony to the value of Christian missions: "The success of the Tierra del Fuego Mission is most wonderful and charms me, as I always prophesied utter failure. It is a grand success. I shall feel proud if your committee think fit to elect me an honorary member of your Society.[3]

[1] Brown, "Latin America," 190–193.
[2] Young, "From Cape Horn to Panama," Ch. 1; Marsh and Stirling, "The Story of Commander Allen Gardiner, R.N."
[3] Young, "The Success of Christian Missions," 254–259.

Gardiner had made visits to Chile and Bolivia before undertaking his last heroic mission to Tierra del Fuego and he had had experience also in Argentina and Patagonia. Every student of missions should study his bold and devoted career, in Marsh and Stirling's "The Story of Commander Allen Gardiner, R.N." or Young's "From Cape Horn to Panama."

Captain Gardiner's mission to the Indians was in purely heathen territory and among the aborigines. The first permanent work in the Latin States was begun by Dr. Kalley, a pious Scotch physician who had worked in Madeira in 1842–1846 and came to Rio de Janeiro about 1855, where he built up an abiding evangelistic work in his own independent way. He had been preceded in Brazil by representatives of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, to which belongs the honor of the first attempt to plant the Gospel in Brazil, in modern times. The Methodist Mission began in 1836, but financial pressure of those times led to its abandonment in 1842.

A temporary work had also been done in Rio in 1851–1853 by the Rev. J. C. Fletcher, a Presbyterian minister who worked under the American and Foreign Christian Union and the Seamen's Friend Society. The American and Foreign Christian Union beside this temporary work in Rio began the work in Chile, transferring it later to the Presbyterian Board. The Union some years ago ceased to carry on active missionary work. It has now only a nominal existence and all its assets have been funded for the benefit of the American Church in Paris.

Dr. Kalley's work was independent. The first denominational work established in Brazil which has never been discontinued was the Presbyterian Mis-

Harbor, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

sion in Brazil founded by the Rev. A. G. Simonton in 1859. Mr. Simonton reported as follows the conditions which he found prevailing:

To my mind, the most astonishing feature of the religious condition of Brazil is its almost total lack of all religion. Unless I am mistaken, Brazil is singular in this respect, even among the most thoroughly Roman Catholic nations. Not only has religion degenerated from being a thing of conviction to a mere habit, but it has become a habit to pay no attention to its outward forms. The number of church-goers is very small. Confession is falling into disuse. Priests are dissolute, and not unfrequently scoffers. A pure and universal indifference seems to reign. The extremity of the Pope has produced no public prayers, and Garibaldi and Cavour are heroes. It is said that no people can be without a religion; if so, few nations can be much more destitute than Brazil. There are special occasions, however, which show that he would be greatly deceived who imagined that their religion is like that which is found in Protestant countries. At times they become religious. One of these times is the hour of death. Then the priest is sure of employment and pay. Confession, absolution, the sacrament, and extreme unction are the sources of trust in that hour when all men would be religious if they could.[1]

The Presbyterian Mission in Brazil[2] was followed by the mission of the Episcopal Church of the United States, begun in 1860 but abandoned after a few years and reëstablished in 1889; next by the mission of the Southern Presbyterian Church in 1869, then by the mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1876[3] and by the Southern Baptist Mission in 1882.[4]

Permanent missionary work was begun in Argen-

[1] "South American Missions," 6.
[2] See "Historical Sketches of Presbyterian Missions."
[3] John, "Handbook of Methodist Missions."
[4] Ray, "Southern Baptist Foreign Missions."

tina and Uruguay by the Methodist Episcopal Church a few years later than the permanent work in Brazil, but its permanence was rudely shaken at times in the early years. The first Protestant worship in the city of Buenos Aires was held by James Thomson of the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1820, nine persons being present at the service in a private house. The meetings thus begun were continued by a Methodist layman and then taken up by some Presbyterian workers, but the latter were withdrawn in 1836 and until recent years the field was cared for only by the Methodists. The story of the work is told in Reid's "Missions and Missionary Society of the M. E. Church," Vol. I, Part IV.

Next to Brazil and the republics of the Rio de la Plata, Colombia is the oldest Protestant mission field in South America. The Rev. H. B. Pratt, who is still living, was sent to Bogota by the Presbyterian Church in 1856. "At that time the government interposed no hindrances; but the swarming priests were prodigal of impediments, and the ignorance of the masses greatly retarded the circulation of the truth through the press. 'He found among the youth and the men no love for the Church, but a widespread deism; he found a low standard of morality everywhere prevalent, the utter absence of spiritual life, and a resting only in outward ceremonials for an inward preparation for the life to come.'"[1]

Without detailing the history of the establishment of missions in each South American land, it will suffice to summarize the last statistical statement (1911) regarding the work in South America,

[1] "Historical Sketch of the Missions in South America," 39, Sixth Edition, Revised.

as given in "The World Atlas of Christian Missions." [1]

| | Total No. of Societies. | Total No. of Foreign Missionaries. | Total No. Ordained & Unordained Native Workers. | Total No. of Communicants. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Argentine Republic | 19 | 199 | 189 | 4,800 |
| Chile | 6 | 97 | 134 | 5,616 |
| Uruguay | 6 | 27 | 27 | 925 |
| Paraguay | 3 | 22 | 18 | 147 |
| Brazil | 19 | 244 | 364 | 28,903 |
| Bolivia | 6 | 16 | 3 | 54 |
| Peru | 5 | 45 | 82 | 572 |
| Ecuador | 4 | 19 | 5 | 61 |
| Venezuela | 6 | 19 | 10 | 114 |
| Colombia | 2 | 10 | 6 | 125 |

One of the most interesting single pieces of missionary work to be found in South America is the enterprise in Buenos Aires heretofore known as the "Argentine Evangelical Schools."

These schools are day schools for poor children, begun in 1898 by the Rev. William C. Morris, who is connected with the South American Missionary Society of England. There are now over 5,000 children taught in these schools and the work is alive with the intense, energetic, practical spirit of Mr. Morris. No one can see these great throngs of children, orderly, well taught, reading the New Testament as one of their text-books, inspired with the sense of duty to God and to their country, prepared practically for life by industrial training, without being uplifted by the sight. It is a wonderful work and shows what can be accomplished by one man of faith and indomitable energy and fearless obedience to the call of God. The schools are largely supported by

[1] 96–98.

gifts in Argentina, but the work is an enormous burden for one man. They enjoy now the favor of the Argentine Government, which gave them a subsidy in 1907 of $48,000 Argentine money. The municipality of the city of Buenos Aires gave them $5,000 Argentine money. The effect of this work has been to set both a moral and pedagogical standard for government schools as mission schools ought to do, and also to quicken the Roman Catholic Church to take up work which it had utterly neglected until this example was set before it.

The President of the Republic has expressed his sincere sympathy with the work that is being carried on in these schools, and they have no warmer friends than are to be found in the Argentine National Congress. They have had great opposition to overcome, however, which still wars against them on the part of the Roman Church in the Argentine.

One of the best known Protestant Mission schools in South America is the Mackenzie College at São Paulo. The College was incorporated by the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York in July, 1890. The purpose which the trustees had in view in seeking incorporation in this country was to extend and perpetuate the type of Christian education commenced by the Presbyterian Mission in 1870. The mission school had grown into a complete graded system of primary, intermediate, grammar and high school instruction with more than 500 pupils of both sexes, having a Normal class for training its own teachers, a manual training shop under skilled direction—the first one in Brazil—and a kindergarten, also the first one in Brazil. It was patronized by all classes and had more applicants than

places. Out of it had come, largely, the reorganization of the public schools on the American model. The College now has engineering, commercial and arts courses and the total enrollment for 1910 in all departments of the College and subordinate schools was 827.

The Protestant missions in Brazil have been the most successful and fruitful missions in South America. There are now not less than 28,903 Protestant communicants in Brazil. Before the great and critical demands of the present hour there is no greater need in South America than the need of unity and zeal in these strong Brazilian churches. As one of the ablest Christian leaders of the country says: "The liberal stream of opinion is growing rapidly against the Roman clericalism which, from every side, invades our country. Very soon the religious question will be put seriously to our countrymen. It is necessary that the evangelical churches be prepared, by brotherly love and broad evangelical views, in order not to repulse this approaching tide." This is but part of the larger problem which confronts the Churches in Brazil—the problem of a vivification of the church life and a fresh kindling of the fires of her devotion and service in a time of peculiar need and opportunity. "I beg you to arouse your country to come to our help," one of the leading men in western Parana said to us in the little hotel at Imbituve. He is the largest landholder in the west of this state, and a free thinker, but a lover of his country. "I dread, in the interest of our nation, the assault which Jesuitism is making upon it." Will the churches here and in Brazil meet the situation? "I am confident," writes one of the younger leaders of the

Church in a letter, "that this problem will be soon solved, on broad lines, and that our ministry will hold its own in this country, which is developing in a wonderful way. Otherwise, with the strong policy of the Roman Catholic Church and the materialization of the public mind by the facilities of money making and the industrial evolution of our country we will lose our day, as we have lost it in France and in Spain during the last decades of the Reformation."

In Chile there is now not a resident foreign missionary in the five central provinces of O'Higgins, Calchagua, Curico, Talca and Linares with a population of 692,000. There are a few Chilean preachers, not more than three or four, but not a missionary.

In Peru there are all told less than fifty missionaries, including wives and teachers, for a population of 3,500,000, as great as that of the states of Texas and Rhode Island with an area nearly three times that of the state of Texas. In northern Peru no one is at work. There are populous villages here in fertile valleys where there would be unlimited opportunities for work. And all this section is some day to have a great development. The best cotton and coffee are raised here, cotton which is exported to the United States as well as Europe and coffee which rivals Brazil's. No country in South America seems likely to be more favorably affected than Peru by the Panama canal. The commercial interests of Americans in its railways, in the great copper smelter in Cerro de Pasco, in rubber, make our investment in the interest of evangelization and education pitiful. Our disproportion will surely return upon us again in ways for which we shall not have prepared.

The great need of South America is not more

independent missionaries or mission agencies but a great strengthening of the work of the missions with strong Church constituencies behind them, which will do permanent and solid work.

But all this work in Latin America is disapproved on the ground that it is for Christian people, that we are invading territory already occupied by a sister Church. As we have already seen the Protestant missions in South America are among nominally Christian people and we have examined the religious conditions among these people which forbid our leaving the field to the agency which has been in control of it. But it will be well now, in closing, squarely to face the question of the legitimacy of foreign mission work among the nominal Christians of South America. It is not, however, a new question. It is as old as the Reformation. And in modern missions it was a more living question seventy-five years ago than it is to-day. The American missions to the Nestorian and Armenian peoples in the ancient Syrian and Gregorian Churches, to the Greeks in Turkey and to the Copts in Egypt, and the effort to meet the dire needs of South America, which was renouncing both Spain and Rome and religion, raised this issue then as vividly as it can be raised to-day. The objection then and now rests upon two assumptions, first, that these nominal Christians are Christian and do not need missionary work in their behalf, and second, that foreign mission work among them is simple proselytizing and therefore illegitimate and unworthy.

The story of the American missions to the Oriental Churches is a fascinating and suggestive story and there are many lessons to be learned from it. (1) The Roman Catholic Church, which objects to our

foreign missions in Latin America, does so on principles which it rejects in its dealings with these Oriental Churches. It has for years carried on foreign missions among them with a view to absorbing them in the Roman Catholic Church. In going to these Churches we have done just what the Roman Catholic Church has done. In some cases, as among the Nestorians in Persia, our missions were first, followed afterwards by the Roman Catholics. (2) The conditions of these Churches demanded help from Christendom. They were illiterate. Their worship often was in dead languages. Their polity was tyrannical. Their religion was a travesty of Christianity. They were an insuperable obstacle to the evangelization of the Mohammedans. To have neglected them in the name of an ecclesiastical theory would have been a shame and reproach which the Christian spirit of the American Churches refused to bear. (3) The purpose of our missions to these Churches was not proselytism but spiritual vivification. The first missions to the Nestorians in Persia were instructed to have as their object in establishing this mission: " (a) To convince the people that they came among them with no design to take away their religious privileges nor to subject them to any foreign ecclesiastical power; (b) To enable the Nestorian Church, through the grace of God, to exert a commanding influence in the spiritual regeneration of Asia." The purpose in Turkey among the Armenians was the same. The separate Evangelical churches grew up in spite of the influence of the missions. The old bottles would not accept the new wine. The Gregorian Church excommunicated the men who embraced the new life which was in reality only the restoration of the old,

and in Persia, rightly or wrongly, the evangelical element moved away from what was dead and enslaving and seemed incapable of a spiritual reformation.

But our concern now is with Latin America and I wish to ask and answer four questions. 1. Are our missions in Latin American lands legitimate and necessary? 2. If so, can they be conducted without encountering the antagonism of the Roman Catholic Church in Latin America and in the United States? 3. If not, what course are we to pursue? 4. If we are to go forward with the missions how are we to get for them that interest and support at home to which they are entitled, not less than our missions in Asia and Africa?

I. Are our missions in Latin American lands legitimate and necessary? The evidence already presented in these studies is sufficient answer. It will suffice here simply to summarize what has been already set forth in detail.

(1) The moral condition of the South American countries warrants and demands the presence of any form of religion which will war against sin and bring men the power of righteous life.

(2) The Protestant missionary enterprise with its stimulus to education and its appeal to the rational nature of man is required by the intellectual needs of South America.

(3) Protestant missions are justified in South America in order to give the Bible to the people.

(4) Protestant missions are justified and demanded in South America by the character of the Roman Catholic priesthood.

(5) Protestant missions in South America are jus-

tified because the Roman Catholic Church has not given the people Christianity.

(6) Protestant missions are justified in South America because the South American Roman Catholic Church is at the same time so strong and so weak.

But these considerations are far from exhausting what is to be said in answer to the objection that our Protestant work in Latin America is an "intrusion upon territory already occupied and fully covered by another branch of the Christian Church;" that this other branch of the Church is a "true Church, exerting a beneficial influence and much better adapted than the Protestant Churches to meeting the needs of romantic and emotional people like the Latin Americans, who are deeply devoted to their Church, and who can only be either perplexed or angered by Protestant invasion." These opinions are shared by many good people who know devout Christian Catholics in the United States, and not unnaturally assume that the Catholic Church is everywhere what they believe it to be here. A candid examination of these objections will show their invalidity and the adequate warrant of Protestant missions in Latin America.

1. They have not intruded. "Every important movement of Protestantism in these countries has had its origin in the response to a call coming from these countries themselves and from the native people. Everywhere are to be found those who long for better things and who have sent out their cry into the Christian world until it has been heard and heeded." [1] In 1882, President Barrios of Guatemala urged the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions to send a

[1] "Protestant Missions in South America," 113.

missionary to Guatemala and offered to pay his expenses to the field. When General Sarmiento was elected President of the Argentine "one of the first things he did was to give Dr. William Goodfellow, an American [Methodist] Missionary returning to the United States, a commission to send out a number of educated women to establish normal schools in Argentina."[1] In 1884 President Roca of Argentina at a Protestant anniversary celebration in Buenos Aires, praised the missionaries, saying that to their influence he attributed much of the progress of the republic and urged them to enlarge their field and increase their zeal. Such evidence might be multiplied—from the side of the people as well as from their rulers. Much of the work of the missions was original and spontaneous, the missionaries being invited by people who had already broken from Rome, to come and give them further guidance and instruction. There is, of course, the most bitter opposition from the Church. The "Defensa Catolica," published in Mexico, declared plainly in 1887, "In the Lord's service and for love of Him, we must, if need be, offend men; we must if need be, wound and kill them. Such actions are virtuous and can be performed in the name of Catholic Charity."[2] And where the government is under the control of the Church, there is vexatious political hindrance of missions.[3] Those who say that Latin America does not want Protestant missions have only this ground for their statement, namely, the Roman Church does not want them. That they are not regarded by the people as an intrusion is shown by

[1] "Protestant Missions in South America," 109.
[2] Brown, "Latin America," 247.
[3] Report of Ecumenical Conference, New York, 1900, Vol. I, 477.

the fact that the constitutions of almost all the republics have been amended, in spite of the opposition of the Church, to allow freedom of religion and to secure the rights of those who hold and propagate other forms of faith than the Roman.

2. The territory is not already occupied and fully covered by the Roman Catholic Church. There are, as we have seen, about 5,000,000 Indians in South America, of whom about 3,000,000 are Quichua-speaking. While claiming them as its children the Roman Church in South America is doing almost nothing for them. And for many of the other peoples, it does next to nothing. If it furnishes them with occasional worship and confessional, it yet leaves most of them utterly ignorant, providing no adequate schools, nor literature, nor vital inspiration. Even where it displays itself most, the work of enlightenment and purification, without which nations cannot live, is not done. Protestant schools are crowded everywhere and might be multiplied indefinitely, and be in large measure or entirely self-supporting. If the Roman Church were doing what needs to be done, there would be no such educational demand as to-day appeals to every Protestant mission.

3. As we have seen, the South American people cannot be left to the sole influence and example of the Roman Church as it is in South America. Some fresh testimony will confirm the facts which we have already faced. "The ceremony of marriage," Mr. Curtis wrote of Ecuador, "is not observed to any great extent, for the expense of matrimony is too heavy for the common people to think of paying it. For this, the Catholic Church is responsible, and to it can be traced the cause of the illegitimacy of more than half of the

population."[1] Dr. Blackford, who lived for twenty-six years in Brazil tells us plainly what he saw there.

Romanism was inherited by Brazil from the mother-country. It has held almost undisputed sway there for over three centuries. It is but fair, therefore, to infer that the system has brought forth its legitimate fruits in that great and beautiful land. . . .

Aside from the fearful corruptions in morals which the system everywhere engenders, and which will not bear recital here, a few of its dire results may be mentioned, as follows: The most debasing ignorance and superstition pervade the minds of the masses. The religious sentiment in man, if not nurtured and directed by the truths of Divine Revelation, will be overrun by the most degrading and ridiculous superstitions. Rome everywhere seeks with jealous care to hide the Word of God from the people. The result intended is secured: that abjection of spirit and superstitious faith, which engender fanaticism and render the ignorant the ready tools of priestcraft.

On the other hand, the intelligent, educated and thinking classes are driven into unbelief and indifference. It is so in Brazil. The unlettered classes are grossly superstitious and idolatrous. As a general thing, intelligent men who have any claim or make any pretensions to education, do not hesitate to declare their disbelief in many, if not all, of the doctrines of the religion they have been taught. If any such profess a full belief in their system, their sincerity is at once questioned. This is the natural and inevitable result. . . . In such cases men, without a knowledge of the truths of the Bible, naturally seek refuge in rationalism and infidelity, and not a few are driven into absolute atheism.

Popery has, however, demoralized itself in Brazil. There is in general very little attachment to the Romish system as such. If the Pope should disappear to-morrow and his place should never again be filled, it would make very little difference to the great majority of Brazilians, so far as their religious belief, sentiments, and practices are concerned. The priests are in general, ignorant and immoral, and frequently avaricious and exacting, and, as a consequence, are, in most

[1] "Capitals of South America," 306.

parts, heartily despised. For a number of years past their influence has been rapidly waning in the more intelligent communities and amongst the better classes. . . .

The fruits of Romanism are seen not only in the moral debasement, but in the backward state of mental and social culture and of material progress. The superiority of Protestant nations in these respects does not result from the difference of race, but from the difference in their religion; it is the effect of the power of the truth of God's Word on the intellects and hearts of men, and its consequent bearing and influence on their conduct and social institutions.

Millions of souls in Brazil are in as urgent need of the Gospel as are the pagans of China, India, or Africa; and are in an extraordinary degree prepared to receive it; yea, more, are urgently beseeching that it may be sent to them.[1]

And Mrs. T. S. Pond writes of what she saw in her life in Colombia:

In Barranquilla the people are not bigoted as in Bogota and other interior towns, but atheism, indifference, and superstition are harder to overcome. I have been asked, "Is not the Catholic religion good enough for those people?" The truth is, they are not acknowledged as Catholics by those Catholics who come from Europe and the States. They say, "These people are *not* Catholics." . . . The priests are vile men, and known to be so. One who died in Barranquilla, some years ago, left bequests to fifty children whom he acknowledged as his own. Grown men and women, now, they go by his name. I have heard of churches in the country being used as places for cockfights, in which priests, as well as people, delight. The religion of priests and people consists in shows and ceremonies, and those who take part in the processions of Good Friday and Easter are assured of forgiveness for all the sins committed during the year, and lay up for themselves merit, especially if they can bear some weight of the heavy platform on which is carried the image of Christ.

Is such a Church to be left in possession of the religious, moral and social interests, yes, and of the in-

[1] "Sketch of the Brazil Mission," 4, 5.

tellectual and political interests also, inseparably associated with these, of 40,000,000 of our fellow creatures? The people who have no religion may answer this question affirmatively, but no one will do so who knows the human heart or human history. As the President of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, the Rev. George Alexander, D.D., upon returning from a visit to Brazil in the summer of 1903, said in his report to the Board:

With every disposition to think as favorably as possible of the Roman Catholic Church, I am persuaded that the missionaries do not exaggerate the baleful influence of that type of religion which Rome has given Latin America. Her doctrine and discipline have sapped the foundation of virile character, fettered intellect and conscience and utterly failed to check immorality and vice. She may even be called the patron of vice. She shares with the State, the responsibility for a lottery system pervasive, obtrusive and hideously demoralizing. The festals of the Church are in many cases wild orgies, and the clergy themselves are so generally depraved that they lead the weak of their flocks in the ways of sin and provoke the more intelligent and moral to disbelieve in the divine origin of Christianity and even in the existence of God. This is no libel upon the priesthood, but a statement abundantly confirmed by Catholic authorities.

The priesthood of Brazil is only to a very limited extent Brazilian. It is recruited almost exclusively from abroad and from the least desirable elements. . . . Most of these recent importations are friars from the Philippines or members of orders banished from France; an infusion which does not tend to raise the moral tone of the clergy, though some of them are men of great capacity. . . . At the same time, it is true that the immigration of ecclesiastics has touched the sensibilities of the people who are morbidly apprehensive of foreign influence. . . .

The usual fruits of such a debased form of Christianity are painfully manifest. The intelligence of Brazil is in revolt against the Church. Educated men for the most part adopt the philosophy of positivism, and those whose spiritual crav-

ings will not be satisfied with such a creed eagerly accepted the teachings of spiritualism. . . .

The most influential man in South America in an interview which I had with him on the day of my sailing from Rio, said, "It is sad, sad to see my people so miserable when they might be so happy. Their ills, physical and moral, spring from a common source, lack of religion. They call themselves Catholics, but the heathen are scarcely less Christian. The progress of the Anglo-Saxon race is due to their religion. Our people have left the firm foundation and are trying to build their fabric in the air. Two weeks ago, I had a call in this office from Julio Maria, a Catholic priest of great learning and eloquence, who has been traversing Brazil from north to south, preaching and holding conferences. He said to me, 'The moral and religious condition of this people is unspeakable, almost remediless. I see but a single ray of hope and as a Catholic priest I am ashamed to say where I see it.' I expect him to tell me, that he finds it in some Protestant mission."

4. Even if the Roman Catholic Church in South America were better than it is, Protestant Missions engaged in founding Protestant Churches would be needed to do for the Roman Church just what the Protestant Church does for it in the United States. Without the check of powerful evangelicalism round about it, the Roman Church tends to become everywhere just what Dr. Blackford has described. With a strong Protestant environment, it is purged of grosser superstition and saved from the base consequences of its own self-development. Already in Mexico, the influence of Protestantism begins to be felt in counter reforming movements in the Roman Church and that will be the course of affairs all over Latin America. The Protestant Churches will not absorb the Roman Catholic Church. They will in a measure purify it.

The Roman Catholic Church in South America needs the Protestant missionary movement. There is good in that Church in South America. There are good men and women in it. In spite of the falsehoods and vicious elements in it, there is truth also. That the good in it may triumph over the evil, there is need of external stimulus and purification. The presence of Protestant missions alone will lead the Church into a self cleansing and introduce the forces, or support whatever inner forces there may already be, which may correct and vivify it. There are some who think that the South American religious system is simply to be swept away, that it cannot be reformed, but there is another view open to us, and that is that against whatever odds and with whatever deep cutting excisions the good may be strengthened and enabled to eliminate the evil. Already Protestant missions have wrought great changes. They have altered the ostensible attitude of the Church toward the Bible. They have been among the influences which have secured a very fair text-book of Sacred History in the public schools in Chile. They have elevated the standard of education in the schools conducted by the Roman Catholic Church and have greatly stimulated the Church in its establishment of schools. "His praiseworthy efforts," says the ex-Minister of Justice and Public Instruction in the Argentine, Dr. Federico Pinedo, of Mr. Morris, the founder of the Argentine Evangelical Schools, "have had the virtue of awakening the Catholics, who, not to be left behind, have also founded numerous schools, so that in every way the most needy children are being benefited." They have steadily widened the sphere of freedom and hedged in the Church more and more to a true Church ideal. To restrain or abate

the forces which have done all this is not an act of true friendship toward the Roman Catholic Church. It is a betrayal of her best interests and her best men and women who need all the help that can be sent from without to meet the need of South America and to purge its chief institution.

In this view the attitude of Protestant Missions to the Roman Catholic Church in South America ought to be an attitude of true discrimination and intelligent helpfulness and positive service. We should not attack its doctrine or its priesthood. We must know the grounds on which we are in South America, but the grounds of our presence there are not to be made the substance of our preaching. We are there to preach Christ, not to denounce those who do not preach Him. We ought not to engage in polemics. The work in South America which has really succeeded has not used the method of warfare against the South American system. It has lovingly and patiently carried to men a true gospel of forgiveness and salvation. It is hard to restrain the converts from attacking evils which they know so well and have come so to abhor, but all such tactics confuse the issue and entangle our religious enterprise with political and intellectual liberalism, Masonry, free thought, and mere anti-clericalism, so that we are put in a false position and misrepresent our own mission. We ought also to cultivate closer relations and acquaintanceship with priests and with Roman Catholics who are ardently devoted to their Church. This will be good for us. We shall be able to work more intelligently. We can explain our own purposes and perhaps foster a more tolerant and Christian spirit, and we may find men and women who are themselves eager to see the Church what it ought

to be. It is surely not wrong for us to cherish the ideal of reform of what is partly good as well as destruction of what is wholly evil.

The difficulty, however, it must be honestly stated is not on this side. The Church does not want to be reformed. The South American system is imperious and self-satisfied. It views Protestantism as pernicious and intolerable. It proceeds upon the principle of absolute exclusivism set forth in the reply of C. Cardinal Patrizi, dated at Rome, September 16, 1864, to the Roman Catholic Bishops in England as to the judgment of the Inquisition on the subject of the membership of Catholics in the "Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom," made up of both Anglicans and Roman Catholics and other Christians.

The principle upon which it rests is one that overthrows the Divine Constitution of the Church. For it is pervaded by the idea that the true Church of Jesus Christ consists partly of the Roman Church spread abroad and propagated throughout the world, partly of the Photian Schism and the Anglican heresy as having equally with the Roman Church one Lord, one faith and one baptism. The Catholic Church offers prayers to Almighty God and urges the faithful in Christ to pray, that all who have left the holy Roman Church out of which is no salvation, may abjure their errors and be brought to the true faith and the peace of that Church, nay that all men may by God's merciful aid, attain to a knowledge of the truth. But that the faithful in Christ and that ecclesiastics should pray for Christian unity under the direction of heretics and, worse still, according to an institution stained and infected by heresy in a high degree, can no way be tolerated. . . . Catholics who join this Society are giving both to Catholics and non-Catholics an occasion of spiritual ruin. . . . The most anxious care then is to be exercised, that no Catholics may be deluded either by appearance of piety or by unsound opinions to join or in any way favor the

Society in question or any similar one; that they may not be carried away by a delusive yearning for such newfangled Christian Unity, into a fall from that perfect unity which by a wonderful gift of Divine Grace stands on the firm foundation of Peter.[1]

It has been the priests in South America who burned the Bibles, the priests who instigated the mobs, the priests who have taught that Protestants are teachers of unholy doctrines and exiles from the Kingdom of Heaven. To quote from Canon Saavedra's official South American Catechism:

Q. Why do you say that the doctrines which the Protestants teach are not holy?

A. Because they say that faith alone is sufficient to save one, even when there are no good works; they counsel a person to sin as much as possible to make salvation the more sure; they say that good works are the rather a hindrance to entering heaven; they abolish the sacrifice of the mass and the sacrament of penance; they put away fasting and the mortification of the body, and advise that the legitimate authority be not obeyed.

Q. Is it not a false teaching of our religion that outside of the Catholic Church there is no salvation?

A. Nothing is more reasonable than this principle.

But this attitude of the South American religious system only reveals the more clearly its need of the presence of the evangelical Church. What the Roman Catholic Church is in the United States as compared with what it is in South America, the two Churches not being recognizable as the same Church, so that American Roman Catholics who come down to South America, say "This is not my religion at all," shows the need in South America of just those influences

[1] Official Roman Catholic translation, quoted in Walsh, "Secret History of the Oxford Movement."

which in North America have formed the greatest blessing of the Church, a vastly greater blessing than her connection with the Papal See.

5. The Protestant movement is not a mere proselytism. It is not that at all. It is a powerful educational and moral propaganda, teaching freedom and purity. It is also a powerful evangelistic agency, aiming at the conversion to Christianity of people, who, whatever their ecclesiastical relations, are often only adherents of a refined heathenism. The purposes of the missions are not destructive polemics. They aim at the spiritualization of the dead religion which has cumbered these nations and would keep them from light and progress. We would be happy if this could be accomplished by general reformation within the Church, but failing that, we must strive to accomplish it by winning men one by one to a true and reasonable and enlightening faith.

No one knows the South American conditions better or views them with a broader outlook than the Rev. J. W. Fleming, D.D., for many years minister of the Scotch Presbyterian Church in Buenos Aires, a strong church of Scotch and English residents. For years this church confined its work to the colonists but it has now at last been constrained to take up Spanish work also for two reasons. Dr. Fleming says:

> In the first place, we have in our hands the priceless message of the Gospel, and without in any way denying the true and vital Christianity of numbers of Roman Catholics we believe that there are still greater numbers who are in ignorance of what real Christianity is. They are not only bad Christians, they are bad Roman Catholics. It is altogether an error to say that we are seeking to proselytize these people. When we seek to make them Protestant we

are winning them from heathenism or the next thing to it, and giving them for the first time in their lives a real knowledge of Christianity. It is a clear duty to take up such work; we have received the Gift and we are bound to pass it on. All the world is to be won for Christ, and surely our first duty is to begin with that portion of the world which does not know the unsearchable riches of Christ and which at the same time lies at our own doors.[1]

6. The needs of South American Protestants justify the existence of Protestant churches. This is the second reason mentioned by Dr. Fleming for the inauguration of Spanish work by his church. It presents an unanswerable argument for the legitimacy of Protestant work in South America. Speaking of the nationalized children of the European colonists in Argentina, Dr. Fleming remarks:

It is the fact that every year there is an increasing number of young people growing to maturity who are Protestants by birth and by conviction and who are often Presbyterians by baptism and training, but whose knowledge of the English language is very defective, and occasionally is altogether wanting. These are *our own people* and ought to be looked after by the Church of which they are made members in baptism. At present they are drifting away from worship of every kind, whereas if we had a church to which they could attach themselves, some, at least, would become valuable members of the Church of Christ."[2]

For a hundred years now English-speaking Protestant people have been moving into South America. Were they to come, Alberdi asked, without the religion that made them what they were? By no means. They brought their religion with them and that religion once brought, by its very nature propagated itself.

[1] *Buenos Aires Scotch Church Magazine*, March, 1903, 1.
[2] Ibid.

The first Protestant preachers were not so much missionaries to South Americans as they were pastors of the immigrants and colonists and foreign communities, but their influence soon and inevitably spread beyond those of their own race and became an appeal and inspiration to those who had never been touched and affected by such character.

A typical man of this class was David Trumbull of Valparaiso, the pioneer missionary in Chile, whose name is still gratefully revered, and who deserves to be ever remembered for his service in securing a liberalization of the laws of Chile, in promoting a wider range of thought and sympathy, in uplifting the tone of a foreign community in a commercial city, and in embodying high ideals of noble and companionable character. In all South America we found no foreign community more happily interrelated or better maintaining home ideals and religious institutions than the foreign community in Valparaiso. Many causes have doubtless operated to produce this, notably the work of Dr. Trumbull's successors and the high and Christian tone of certain prominent business houses, but doubtless also, Dr. Trumbull's influence is seen in this. For more than forty years he ministered to the English-speaking people of Valparaiso, at the same time that he made the well being of Chile his one great care. When the struggle for the passage of laws providing for civil marriage and religious freedom and other reforms was at its height, a struggle in which he was the central figure, he vowed that if the measures passed, out of gratitude and confidence he would become a citizen of the land to which he had given his life. And he fulfilled his vow. The high United States official who once spoke of him as

a "renegade American" was not informed as to the man or his work. They are suitably described in the inscription on the great stone over his grave in the foreign cemetery at Valparaiso, a cemetery in which there rest also the bodies of Dr. Allis, another of the most faithful missionaries, and of some of the little children who, in simplicity, have shared the fortunes of conditions which they could neither choose nor refuse.

MEMORIAE SACRUM

The Reverend
David Trumbull, D. D.

Founder and Minister of the Union Church, Valparaiso.
Born in Elizabeth, N. J., 1st of Nov., 1819.
Died in Valparaiso, 1st of Feb., 1899.

For forty-three years he gave himself to unwearied and successful effort in the cause of evangelical truth and religious liberty in this country. As a gifted and faithful minister and as a friend he was honored and loved by foreign residents on this coast. In his public life he was the counsellor of statesmen, the supporter of every good enterprise, the helper of the poor, and the consoler of the afflicted.

In memory of
His eminent services, fidelity, charity and sympathy
This monument
Has been raised by his friends in this community
And by citizens of his adopted country.

All over South America, where the English and German-speaking people have come to settle or carry on business, they have their own Protestant services. And such services must be maintained for the moral life of these people and their children. It would be wrong not to have them, but it is impossible to have them without releasing influences which are subversive of the old South American religious system.

7. The Latin American states need the type of character which only a strong evangelical religion can produce. "Owing to the lamentable want of public morality south of the equator, and to the cynicism of the political vultures who make it their business to prey upon their fatherland," says Mr. Child, "it is always a painful task to speak about the adminstration of the South American Republics." [1]

Elsewhere Mr. Child fulfills this painful task.

> The whole apparatus of republicanism in these countries is a farce, and in spite of the sonorous speeches of after-dinner orators they have not yet begun to enjoy even the most elementary political liberty. A brief glance at the past history of the South American Republics will explain why this is so. For convenience' sake we will take the Argentine as an example, the history of the others being in all essential points analogous and parallel. After the separation from Spain in 1810, the Argentines, prepared by three centuries of Spanish domination to look to their rulers for everything, and to dispense with initiative of all kinds in the organization and administration of their national and economical life, were at a loss what use to make of their newly-acquired liberty. They were free citizens, but they did not know what citizenship means. They had vague ideas of their rights, but no idea of their duties—a condition, by the way, in which they have remained to the present day, therein resembling very closely the French, who have spent a whole century in learning that citizens of a republic have duties as well as rights, and that the citizen who values his rights and desires to retain them intact must give himself the pains to be continuously and zealously an active voting citizen. However, from 1800 onward the Argentines passed through a long period of revolutions until 1852, when the nation seemed at length to have achieved pacific possession of its destinies; but being still without the practical and self-reliant spirit of democracy, it sought support as an example for a

[1] Child, "South American Republics," 435; Carpenter, "South America," 368.

future history in the past experience of the United States. Thus the text of the American Constitution and its federative doctrines were adopted, and the political heroes and jurisconsults of the United States acquired new admirers and new disciples south of the equator. The modern Argentine Republic found its salvation in imitation, but the salvation has not been complete, because the imitation of North American institutions has been in the letter rather than in the spirit. . . . The Argentines have eliminated virtue from their democracy; they have forgotten that they ever had souls; and yet they talk of their greatness and revel in prodigious statistics. But in what does a nation's greatness consist? To quote the words of James Anthony Froude, in his "Oceana": "Whether (a nation) be great or little depends entirely on the sort of men and women that it is producing. A sound nation is a nation that is composed of sound human beings, healthy in body, strong of limb, true in word and deed—brave, sober, temperate, chaste, to whom morals are of more importance than wealth or knowledge—where duty is first and the rights of man are second—where, in short, men grow up and live and work, having in them what our ancestors called the fear of God." [1]

This is a far severer indictment than we would draw. We take a much more hopeful and favorable view, but Mr. Child describes South America's greatest need. And that fear of God Romanism has not supplied in all these centuries of domination. It has given South America neither the religion, the ethics, nor the politics of the New Testament.

Sometimes it is said that South America is backward and politically dilapidated because of the character of the people, not because of their religion. Dr. Lane, of Brazil, has answered this view:

Much has been written about the decline of the Latin races, as if certain races were doomed because of their ancestors. It would be a monstrous thing, from a Christian standpoint,

[1] Child, "The Spanish American Republics," 329.

Mackenzie College, São Paulo, Brazil

if a nation or an individual *must* fall behind in the race of life under the *fatal* influence of the blood in their veins. We do not believe it, but agree with Emil de Lavelye, who wrote on the subject some twenty-five years ago, that it is rather a question of religion than of race. Centuries of wrong thinking—acting from wrong motives, the effects of vicious education or no education, will make the people of any race weak; but there is an education based upon the principle of a *pure* Christianity which will make the people of any race strong; the power of Truth in God's word, on the intellects and hearts of men, will regenerate a nation as surely as it will an individual, purify its politics and straighten out its finances.[1]

Latin America has made in some parts of it real progress since Mr. Child wrote the words quoted, but the need of character and principle is as great as ever in the face of the new and acute problems of the present day. The responsibility for helping Latin America to meet this need rests upon us, the nearest neighbor. We have assumed toward the American Republics an attitude of political responsibility which, however acceptable it was to them once, has become a little irritating to them now. They are afraid now of growing American predominance and are fearful lest American oversight should work to their humiliation and dependence. The only safe and certain way to disarm such fears and to win their confidence and to help them in their problem is to establish a closer relationship in religious convictions and moral principles. There is no adequate reformatory agency save Christianity, and there is no cement of personal or national intercourse comparable with common religious sentiments and beliefs and hopes. We owe it not less to the common destiny of this Western

[1] *The Brazilian Bulletin*, Vol. I, No. 1, 4.

Hemisphere that we should share with these people the real Christian inheritance to which so many of them are strangers, than we owe it to them as nations and as men. Foreign missions are the main channel through which that inheritance is to be given.

Let us hear this last consideration in the words of the Anglican Bishop of Argentina, whose seat is in Buenos Aires and whose work lays on him the burden of South America's real need:

"The Needs of South America," how great and pathetic they are! The world's empty continent—the hope of the future—the home to be of millions of Europeans, who are already beginning to flow there in a steady stream—it is without true religion, and does not realize its danger! The form of the faith prevalent is the weakest and most corrupt known, and it is impossible to believe that the rising young nationalities of the continent can long be content with it. Indeed they are not content with it now. Yet a faith they must have. What hope is there for Argentina, for example, that Spanish-speaking United States of the future, without true religion? Of what use are vast material resources, rapid development, wealth, knowledge, power, without that? Surely God has a place in the world for these brilliant Southern races. They are still full of vitality. We have no right to speak of them as effete and played out, especially when we know the marvelous recuperative power of the human race. Well, where should this place of development be but in the free air and temperate climate and wide spaces of the new world, far from the social tyrannies and religious superstitions which have hitherto retarded their proper growth? It is nothing less than axiomatic that South America needs true religion, if its future history is not to be a disappointment and its development a failure. . . .

South America needs what Christian England, if the Church were but moved with more faith and love, could easily give—true religion, viz., Reformed, Scriptural, Apostolic Christianity. Our own people need it, that they may be saved from only too possible degradation. The Spanish and Portuguese-speaking people need it, that they may de-

velop into the strong free nations they desire to be. The aboriginal races of Indians need it, that they may be saved from extinction and find their place, too, in the kingdom of God.

If missionary work is not warranted and demanded in conditions like these, where is it legitimate?

II. But if our missions in Latin America are justified and necessary, can they be conducted without encountering the antagonism of the Roman Catholic Church in Latin America and in the United States?

Well, as a matter of fact, they do not escape and never have escaped this antagonism, no matter what the care and spirit with which they have been conducted. One could quote criticisms by Roman Catholics of the American Episcopal Missions in Brazil and the Philippines, although in the latter the Mission has sought carefully to protect itself from the suspicion of proselytizing among the Roman Catholic Filipinos. And we all know how the Protestant missions in all parts of Latin America have been assailed by the Roman Church and how the organs of the Church in the United States have dealt with any who have dared to state the facts regarding Latin American conditions. Now is all this inevitable?

History helps us to answer this question. There was a time when in the Philippines and in all Latin America there was no religious liberty, no free speech, no public education, no civil marriage, no burial rites or interment in a cemetery for a Protestant, no valid baptism for Protestant children and consequently in some lands no right of inheritance. These intolerable conditions have passed away. Did they pass away without the antagonism of the Roman Catholic

Church? It fought every one of these reforms. It is fighting some of them still. Not one advance has been made toward free institutions and free education and freedom of opinion and speech and religion in Latin America without encountering relentless opposition from the Roman organization. If every step thus far toward the emancipation and enlightenment of South America has been antagonized by the Roman Catholic Church, we must not be surprised or intimidated if we continue to meet with opposition.

For let us candidly and fearlessly face the real facts. It is very well to seek to justify some of our work in South America by pointing out the atheism and unbelief which need to be dealt with and also the great aboriginal population which is to be reached, but neither of these considerations will save us from the opposition of the Roman Catholic Church, for, however unwarrantedly, the Roman Catholic Church in South America claims almost all the accessible Indian population, so that our work among them is resented by the Roman Church as much as work for the rest of the population, and, curious as the fact may appear, the atheism and unbelief and immorality of South America are all nominally Roman Catholic. In no South American country have the men of the land more completely thrown off religion than in the Argentine, and yet nominally these men are Roman Catholics and the constitution of the Argentine requires that the President of the Republic shall be a Roman Catholic. In Chile, as we have seen, where a third of the births are illegitimate and 60 per cent of the population is illiterate, the government census gives 98 per cent of the population as Roman Catholics, while in Brazil, where the government census

of 1890 gave a percentage of illegitimacy of 18 per cent and of illiteracy of 80 per cent, the official returns gave 99 per cent of the people as Roman Catholics. In other words, by the declaration of the official census in Brazil and Chile, practically all the illegitimacy and illiteracy is Roman Catholic illegitimacy and illiteracy. You cannot do anything for the people of Brazil or Chile that is not on the face of it work for Roman Catholics. We do not believe that that fact puts them beyond the pale of enlightenment and makes any effort to relieve them unwarrantable, but the simple fact cannot be escaped that whatever missions are operated in these lands or indeed in any Latin American lands are operated among nominal Roman Catholics; for the Roman Catholic Church claims them all as its own.

And the situation is not relieved by that view of our mission work in these lands which would acquit it of all responsibility for establishing evangelical churches and would be satisfied to conduct it simply as a moral and educational influence, seeking by its example to awaken the Roman Catholic Church to better standards and a purer life. The Roman Catholic Church approves of such Protestant missions no more than of the other kind. It has opposed such work as earnestly as it has fought the evangelistic effort. In the Argentine House of Deputies it assailed, through one of its bishops, Mr. Morris's schools, and in Brazil, American Catholics have lamented the work even of Protestant institutions which, although in this they were in error, they declared had no evangelistic purpose or influence.[1]

As a matter of fact our missions are welcomed

[1] *The American Catholic Quarterly Review,* July, 1910, 478.

in every Latin American land, but not by the Roman Catholic Church. Both in South America and here that Church steadfastly resents and opposes every such effort. We may lament this. We may believe that it is the height of folly for the Roman Catholic Church in the United States and Canada to seek to deny or cloak the indisputable facts regarding Latin America. But the cold truth is that we cannot carry on any Protestant work of any sort whatever in Latin America without encountering the opposition of the Roman Catholic Church both there and here.

III. If, then, this opposition is unavoidable, what course are we to pursue? 1. We are to do our duty. It is our duty to minister to human need. We are to maintain our missions in Latin America and to seek to evangelize the people of Latin America with the Christian Gospel just as we seek to evangelize the Japanese Buddhist sects whose doctrines and rites are scarcely less Christian than those of many of the people in Latin America.

2. We are to seek to build up evangelical churches in Latin America and to receive into these churches converted men and women, whether these men and women have been nominal Roman Catholics and actual atheists and unbelievers, or whether they have been open repudiators of all religion, or whether, as will usually be the case, they are men and women who have sought for moral and spiritual satisfaction in the Roman Catholic Church as it is in South America and have been disappointed. Most of the earnest members of the evangelical churches in Latin America have been devout Roman Catholics, who were discontented with their vain search for life and peace.

If it is said that this is proselytism, our reply is that we abhor proselytism as much as any one, when that proselytism is the effort to win a man from one form of Christian faith to another, but the Latin American form of Christianity is so inadequate and misrepresentative that to preach the truth to it is not proselytism, but the Christian duty of North American Christians, both Protestant and Catholic.

3. We are to pursue in all this work the most irenic course. We are not to attack the Roman Catholic Church. That is not good policy and it is not good principle, and it is to many of us practically impossible. We grew up here with many friends in the Roman Catholic Church and we have many friends in it now. We believe that here and even in Latin America it holds some great fundamental Christian truths. We respect the piety and consecration of many of its men and women. We are appalled at the mass of evil which has overcrusted it in Latin America, but even so we cannot wage a war against it. Our purpose and desire are to preach Christ and to set forth the positive truth in love. This course will result in the destruction of error. Even this course will be opposed by the Latin American Church, but nevertheless in spite of such opposition, in spite of the insults and slander by which all who try to show the actual conditions in Latin America will be assailed in the United States, we must not be provoked into unkindness or injustice toward that which is good and true in the Roman Catholic Church, both among its people and among its leaders.

4. We must be patient and hopeful. If we have the truth it will prevail. And all the forces of human progress are with us. Indeed, there are some entirely

too free and radical forces awaking within the Roman Catholic Church and among the Latin American people. We must beware of sympathy with anti-clerical movements which rest on principles which are anti-religious, and with tendencies of thought which not only destroy tradition but by the same token dissolve history. We have no easy path. The true path is never easy in the midst of conflicting extremes. To be a rank partisan is far simpler than to extricate truth from error in antagonistic views and travel on even ways.

5. We must recognize sympathetically the problem with which the Roman Catholic Church has to deal. It is stupendous. One's heart goes out to the earnest men who have to bear this burden. It remains to be seen whether the capacity of adjustment to new and unavoidable conditions and to truth is in the Church, or whether it is incapable of being reformed. There are many who assert that it is. We venture to believe otherwise, regarding large sections of it at least, though in other large sections a work of destruction and regeneration must be done as radical almost as any needed in heathenism.

IV. And now, lastly, if we are to go forward, in this spirit of good will and friendliness, with undaunted determination; how are we to get for these missions adequate interest and support at home?

Those who are now interested in such missions are interested, as a rule, from ultra-Protestant and militant anti-Papal convictions, and their argument for missions in Latin America would involve as an inevitable corollary a great propaganda in the United States and Canada against the Roman Catholic

Church. I do not believe we ought to take up the matter in this way. It is true that the Roman Catholic Church in the United States makes it very difficult to take it up in any other way. It insists that the Roman Catholic Church is one in all lands and in all ages, and that to state what we know to be the facts about Latin America is to libel and attack the Roman Catholic Church in the United States and Canada. This is a terrible responsibility to assume, and one longs for the day when the Roman Catholic Church in our land will be as bold as Cardinal Vaughan and Father Sherman and many another ecclesiastic has been, and denounce and renounce the evils and abuses which flourish under the name of the Roman Catholic Church in all Latin America. And we must anticipate this day and be wise enough and generous enough not to allow the American and Canadian Roman Catholics to shoulder the shame of Latin America in blind denial of indisputable facts.

Our propaganda must be carried on on the basis of these facts—namely, the conditions of need in Latin America which unanswerable evidence can establish.

1. First of all we must set forth these conditions and prove them by evidence which cannot be gainsaid. Whenever evidence creeps into our presentation which can be gainsaid or disputed, we are in danger of damaging the case which must be made. Such faulty evidence cannot invalidate the sound evidence, but it diverts attention and it compromises the argument. It is no easy matter to be faultless here when we review all the testimony which is current. But we must take pains to be absolutely accurate, and then we must speak out unflinchingly the facts which demand attention and which dare not be obscured.

2. We must challenge the conscience of Great Britain and America. *The South American Journal* states that Great Britain has £555,142,041 capital invested in South America, and that her dividends from this investment in 1909 were £25,437,030. That is more each month than the total expenditure on evangelical missions in South America in a hundred years. In the face of such a statement as that quoted from the Bishop of Argentina, can a nation conscientiously do such a thing as this, draw a stream of national wealth from these lands and contribute to them no moral or spiritual treasure, or next to none?

3. We must temperately but firmly dispute the position, that the whole Church is facing the whole world task, or is entitled to claim the divine resources available for a world enterprise alone, if it excludes from its view the need and appeal of Latin America, or fails to offer all the help which Christian sympathy and service can give to the warm-hearted, generous people wrestling with great problems beneath the stars of the far Southern skies.

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